Thomas Twining 1776 - 1861

TRAVELS IN INDIA

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

WITH

A VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

BEING NOTES AND REMINISCENCES BY

THOMAS TWINING

A CIVIL SERVANT OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY

PRESERVED BY HIS SON

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INTRODUCTION

PUBLIC attention has been much attracted by the satisfactory development of native prosperity since India has become an integral part of the British Empire, and considerable interest naturally attaches to a faithful account of things as they were in India a century ago. Such an account is supplied by the present "Notes and Reminiscences" of Thomas Twining (son of Richard Twining of the Strand, London), who, born in 1776 and educated at Rugby, went out to India in 1792, to take a position in the service of the East India Company.

A peculiar practical value belonging to these Memoirs was described as follows, in a discourse delivered by the author to the members of the Weymouth Young Men's Institute in 1838 :—

GENTLEMEN,

I trust you are assured that in presenting myself before you this evening, I am actuated by no presumptuous pretensions, but solely by an earnest desire to contribute to your amusement. Having visited countries unknown, I presume, to you, I may have picked up a few plants—I dare not call them flowers—not in your collection, and truly glad should I be if any of these exotics should be deemed worthy of your acceptance, in return for the numerous and far more valuable specimens which my family and I have received from you during our attendance at your meetings.

But although I aim at nothing further than an endeavour to amuse you during our brief hour, with a few rapid sketches, for such they must necessarily be, of scenes in India, beginning as a natural introduction with a short account of a voyage to that

country, still it would be peculiarly gratifying to me if this simple relation should produce any moral effect, or offer any useful practical example to any young member of our society who may be destined, as I was, to leave his home at an early period of life, and make his way in a far distant land. Should there, my young friends, be such an one amongst you, I would beg leave to enjoin on him, in the first place, to prepare himself for his new career by unwearied diligence, and having done so, to go forth with a good heart and with confidence in himself, but with more confidence in that Providence to which no country is remote, and under whose eye he will equally be in all his wanderings. I would exhort him not to be dismayed because he may be friendless in the country to which he is going, nor disheartened because he may, perchance, be not only very young, but weak and sickly. I was all these: for I was a boy of sixteen, the most weak and delicate of my father's family, when, having to make my own way in life, I chose a path far off, after a full and candid exposition of the dangers and difficulties with which it was beset. My feelings and views at that time may cheer others as they did me. I find them thus expressed amongst my early papers: "The idea of being entrusted to myself so young, and of visiting regions where no one of my family or name had ever been, flattered my feelings, and elevated rather than depressed my spirits. I felt an assurance that, if it pleased God to grant me health, I should be successful and return with honour and fortune—with honour at least—to my native country and friends."

Now of all my companions in the ship, and there were many destined to different parts of India, I who was the youngest and weakest, who was pitied by some, and almost scoffed at by others, on account of my extreme delicacy, was, I believe, the most successful, so true it is that the race is not always to the most swift, nor the battle to the most strong. Accustomed from my earliest years to great simplicity, I sought honourable distinction rather than wealth, and before I finally saw the white cliffs of my native land (not far from your beautiful Bay of Weymouth) I had held many high offices. I had been entrusted with the reform of an extensive department of the public administration, had been appointed judge of a great district, had held the charge of a country containing more than ten thousand towns and villages and more than two millions of people, and had been received by the Great

Mogol on his throne in the old world, and by General Washington in the new. I mention these things to show what a young man who goes forth in the world may do, or what may be done by common resolution and perseverance.

But there is one other important circumstance from which I received the greatest advantage, and which claims the particular attention of every young man destined to visit a foreign country. I allude to the acquisition of the language of that country. My parents found out in an obscure court in Fleet Street, in London, a poor Welshman, from whom I learned, not Welsh, but the sounds of the letters of the Persian alphabet, and with this initiation, and no more, and with only a dictionary and grammar, I was able, by assiduous study during the voyage, to make such progress in the Persian language as to excite some surprise amongst the natives when I landed in India, and to procure me the encomiums and attentions of the great oriental scholar, Sir William Jones.

I communicate these particulars to my young friends, with two views: Firstly, to show them what may be done by self-instruction, even in a short time and under unfavourable circumstances, and with a hard language having no affinity with our own. Secondly, to show the importance of knowing the language of the country which is to be the theatre of our exertions. And here I will venture to assure you, without fear of contradiction, that six months of self-application before entering a new country, and the same time afterwards, will be sufficient, I will not say to make you *masters* of the language, for that is quite another thing, not obtainable without many years of study, but to give you all the knowledge that will be essential, all that you will require for your convenience, for your enjoyment of literary and social intercourse, and for every purpose of business. Whereas, without this knowledge you can do nothing; your capacity, however good it may be, will be totally unproductive; you will be as a person deaf and dumb, for you will hear without understanding and speak without being understood. The country before you will be a mere pantomime; you will see only, so to say, with your eyes—that is, without that mental vision through which alone real instruction and intellectual delight flow in upon the mind. The language of the country will at once relieve you from this helpless, humiliating condition. It is the talisman which discovers to the traveller the treasures he seeks, and without which

a stranger in a foreign land can never arrive at fortune or distinction. Placed in different parts of the East, I had to learn three different languages, but I acquired them without difficulty; for learning facilitates learning in all things, and this is particularly the case with languages. Therefore be not discouraged. I must observe, in passing, that a young man, whether destined to stay at home or to go abroad, knows too little who knows only his natural tongue, who cannot open a book written in any other, nor without embarrassment set his foot beyond the channel which confines our narrow space—this island of ours—and separates it from the rest of the world.

PART I

MY VOYAGE TO INDIA

It was in the month of April 1792, in the Easter week of that year, that I embarked on board a ship in the Downs for India. I had recently completed my sixteenth year. I was to have left England a year sooner, but in consideration of my youth, and perhaps of the delicacy of my constitution at that period, my departure was deferred by permission of the East India Company, to whose service I had been appointed,[1] for another twelvemonth.

On Sunday, the 1st April, I took leave of my relations, all assembled together for that purpose, at the old family house in the Strand—No. 216—where my uncle John then resided, but my good father and uncle and an old servant of the former[2] accompanied me to Deal, where I was to meet the ship. We left the Strand door, to which all my friends followed me, about one o'clock, in a post chaise, and slept the night at some town on the road—I believe either Sittingham or Canterbury—and reached Deal the next morning, just in time to witness the arrival of the *Ponsborne*—the name of the ship in which my passage had been taken.

I thought her a fine-looking vessel as she sailed into the Downs. Some painful emotion I felt on seeing for the first time

[1] By Thomas Parry, Esq., East India Director.

[2] Joseph Eusden, my father's butler.

the ship on which I was to embark was relieved by the grand appearance she made as she approached under full sail. My baggage was already on board, having been shipped in the river. It filled many trunks of various sizes, for my kind father and mother had been most liberal in providing me with everything that could contribute to the comfort of my long voyage. I had many dozens of shirts, all of calico, this being said to be better suited than linen to a hot climate. Such things as I should not want till my arrival in India were made very large, the captain saying I should grow very much during the passage. My stock did not consist of an abundance of *necessary* articles alone. All my family, feeling and manifesting the kindest interest in my adventure, each presented me with some keepsake to recall the donor to my remembrance in the distant land for which I was about to sail; and many of these gifts, after having accompanied me through all my wanderings, in which they never failed to serve the purpose for which they were given me, are still in my possession, and objects of my regard, reminding me of many scenes in which they have been my companions, as well as of the early kindness of my friends. My uncle John, in addition to many other instances of liberality, generously paid my passage money, amounting to £100. This sum entitled me to a place at the Captain's table; for there was another table for passengers, at which the third mate, or officer, of the ship presided, and indeed provided at his expense, where the charge was considerably less.

Great was my regret at parting from such kind and generous friends. But this was the only pain I felt. My destination was perfectly agreeable to me. It was, I should rather say, my own choice upon a full and candid exposition to me of all circumstances attending it,—the length of the voyage, the heat of the climate, the many years I should in all probability be absent, etc. etc. I well recollect the winter's evening at Isleworth (I was then just fourteen years of age) when my father, after tea in the parlour, having lighted his wax taper as usual to

return to his study, singled me out from the family circle and asked me to go with him. I could not account for this unusual invitation. Though my father was *inwardly* the kindest of men, there was a solemn gravity in his *manner* that almost inspired uneasiness in such a moment as the present. I followed him in thoughtful mood, vainly endeavouring to conjecture the object of this mysterious proceeding. Arrived at the study, and seated in his arm-chair by the fireside, he addressed me in these words: "Thomas, should you like to go abroad?" This termination of a solemnity which seemed far from promising so agreeable a conclusion was very pleasing to me, for by *abroad* I thought that a journey to France or some other part of the continent was meant, and readily expressed my satisfaction. When my father, perceiving probably my misapprehension, explained his allusion and designated *India* as my destination, I was much surprised. I had, however, no desire to retract my assent. On the contrary, I expressed my ready and sincere acceptance of the proposal; nor did I feel any inclination to recall this after the more deliberate consideration which my father desired me to give to so important a communication. The idea of being trusted to myself so young, and of visiting regions where no one of my family or name had ever been, flattered my feelings and elevated rather than depressed my spirits. I felt an assurance, that if it pleased God to grant me health, I should be successful and return with honour and fortune—with honour at least—to my native country and friends.

The ship, which was an East Indiaman—that is, a ship engaged and freighted by the East India Company, who alone had the right of trading with India—remained two days in the Downs to complete her stores and receive her despatches from the India House. The first night after her arrival the wind blew so hard that she and another Indiaman, the *Contractor*, were in great danger of being wrecked upon the Goodwin Sands. The *Contractor*, which lay to windward of the *Ponsborne*, drove, and seeming likely to fall on board the *Ponsborne*, her captain

called out to Captain Thomas, who commanded the latter ship, to *cut his cable*. "Cut my cable, sir!" replied Captain Thomas, marking, at the same time, his offence at such a suggestion by the addition of very strong language; "cut my cable!" Indeed, had he adopted that measure, his ship would inevitably have gone to leeward upon the sands. But Captain Thomas was not a man to take counsel, especially bad counsel, from another captain. He skilfully avoided the danger which threatened him by quickly veering away his cable, thus letting the other ship pass ahead. Still, as the cables of the two ships crossed and chafed, and thus might cut each other, the position of both was very critical during the night. Fortunately the gale abated in the morning, and the ships got clear of each other; but Captain Thomas never reverted to this occurrence without repeating with displeasure the offensive words, "Cut your cable."

Early in the morning of the third day the fatal blue peter, a small square blue flag at the foretop-mast head, was observed by the pilots upon the beach, through their glasses. This was the signal which announced to the passengers, and to all others on shore belonging to the ship, that the moment for parting was come. All was now anxiety and bustle; officers, passengers, and their friends were seen hurrying to the shore. I collected my things together, took a hasty breakfast in our upstairs room, which looked upon the sea, and then descended to the beach with my father and uncle.

The waves, still agitated by the last storm, beat against the shore with violence. Few moments of my life have made a deeper impression on my mind than these, in which I now stood on the shore of my native country with the wide world before me. My heart was full as I embraced my father and uncle for the last time. Under a painful contention of resolution and grief, I climbed, with the assistance of the seamen, over the side of the boat lying on the steep shingly beach, when the united efforts of the boatmen and the people about immediately propelled it forwards into the sea, the good Joseph, with whom I had been

on very friendly terms from the day of his entering my father's house, lending on this occasion an unwilling hand. As soon as the head of the boat reached the water the boatmen, at first hanging at her sides, quickly raised themselves and got over them, and then seizing their oars pulled into deep water before the returning wave threw us again on the shore. We had, however, a rough and tossing row to the ship. As we approached this, its size and noble appearance and steadiness on the water struck me with surprise. I had never been on board a ship nor seen one so near. We rowed under the stern to the larboard and leeward side, from which a rope was thrown to us. Two other ropes hung down the ship's side nearly opposite the mainmast. I took firmly hold of these, one in each hand, and when the boat was on the top of a high wave, mounted hastily upon a sort of ladder made by pieces of wood nailed horizontally to the planks of the ship between the two ropes.

Having made a bow to the Captain and officers, whom I found upon the quarterdeck, or part between the main and mizzen-masts, and glanced my eye, for a moment, upon the ship from head to stern, I inquired where my cabin was, when I was conducted down a ladder to it, on the lower or gundeck, not far from the stern, on the larboard side. Here, the port being shut, there was scarcely light enough for me to survey my new apartment. I soon found, also, that the ship had considerably more motion than was apparent from the boat, and that the relief which I felt in coming on board was of very short duration. For I was soon scarcely able to stand without laying hold of some fixed object. I also became exceedingly oppressed by a close suffocating air, and by a sickening offensive smell, to which I know nothing comparable, and can only designate it by its usual appellation on board—*the smell of the ship*. My head and stomach soon began to yield to this irresistible combination. I could hardly help returning to the deck to breathe a little pure air. It was necessary, however, that I should go to work below, and place

my things in order before the ship should get under weigh, when I should doubtless become more unwell and helpless. I therefore made an effort, and looked about me as well as I could, and inquiring what berths, or bedplaces, were already engaged, I chose the one which I thought the best of those not yet taken. I next had my principal trunk tied or *lashed down* to the deck, close to the side of the ship and directly opposite my sleeping place. I made such further distribution of my things as the pitching of the ship and my giddiness would permit. There being, in all, seven passengers in this small cabin, six of the berths were arranged in two lines against the bulkhead or partition which formed the side of the room, and ran parallel to the ship's side, at the distance of about six feet—this being the cabin's width. The seventh bed occupied the further end of the cabin towards the stern, and had a small window above it, for the sake of giving light to a passage; from which it received, in return, most offensive smells. It was, on this account, the worst berth of the whole set, though at first view it appeared to be the best, from being detached from the others and having no other above or below it.

After some consideration I fixed upon the first in the upper tier on entering the cabin, No. 1. I was rather doubtful whether to take this or the one under it, No. 2. But I considered that the occupier of the lower bedplace was subject to the inconvenience of having his neighbour in the upper story pass before him every night and morning, and perhaps of having a foot upon his bed or pillow in rolling weather. Besides, the upper range had the convenience of *lockers*, small recesses by the side of the bed between the beams of the deck. These were evidently of considerable advantage, being capable of holding many small things which it might be convenient to have at hand. I observed also that the port was nearly opposite my bed, as well as a smaller aperture, about nine inches square, called a scuttle. Its use was to admit air and light in bad weather, when the port might be shut. Being near

the door also, I had the chance of a little fresh air down the *companion*, or opening in the upper deck, not far from the door. Upon the whole, notwithstanding my inexperience and the wretched sensations which oppressed me whilst I remained below, I flattered myself that I had chosen the best berth which this confined and crowded room afforded; for it appeared to me that the space allotted to seven persons was very limited, especially when the sum paid for it was considered. But I had, from my early days, been accustomed to much simplicity, and even to some degree of deprivation and hardship—the common lot of schoolboys at that period — and was fully prepared to encounter the inconveniences from which no path of life is exempt. I had anticipated no satisfaction from the ship or the voyage; on the contrary, much annoyance and suffering. I did not therefore feel disappointed or discouraged at the little appearance of quiet and comfort which my first visit to my cabin discovered to me. I did not join in the loud and general complaint of the other passengers, as they, one after another, groped their way through the dark to make *their* survey and choice as I had done; and I have had less reason to complain since, for of the seven inmates thus crowded together, through the hot climate of the tropics and the rough seas of the Cape of Good Hope, when, the port and scuttle being both closed for many successive days and nights, we had no fresh air nor a ray of light,—of this number, as well as of many other passengers who occupied different parts of the ship, I, who was the youngest and considered the least robust of all, am the only one who lived to return to England; an instance, amongst many others contained in these pages, of the protection which I have received from Divine Providence throughout the long and varied courses of my life.

Having finished my arrangements, I regained the ladder and went upon deck. The ship being now ready for sea, and the wind sufficiently fair, the sails were lowered, the capstan, round which the cable winds, manned, and the anchor slowly

heaved to the cheering sounds of the boatswain's whistle. For I observed that the shrill notes of this little instrument, which the boatswain wore about his neck, both animated the men in their laborious task and regulated their motion; some sounds accelerating, some retarding, their circular march, others making them stop instantly. To me there was something impressive in this operation. It was the first step in our long voyage. I was struck with the reflection that this anchor, till now the ship's main security, and which had just contributed so essentially to save her from destruction, would probably be useless till we reached India. But serious as the present moment was to *me*, to the *crew* I perceived it was one of exultation and joy. With the exception of some passenger (though I observed no one), who probably felt as I did, hilarity, good humour, and confidence seemed to pervade the ship. I understood, however, that the superstitious impressions of seamen were particularly observable on such occasions as the present. They do not like to sail on a Friday, while they consider Sunday as propitious. I saw nothing reprehensible nor displeasing in these notions, and thought that a prudent captain, though not influenced by them himself, would rather endeavour to turn them to account, by inspiring satisfaction and confidence amongst his crew, than to oppose them.

The anchor being up and secured to the bow, we began our course down Channel, soon losing sight of Deal, passing the south foreland, Dover, and Beachy Head, a high projecting cliff on the coast of Sussex, on which I recollected having once stood. This was the last point visible, and deeply did I feel then, as I have done since, that no object fills the mind with more sorrow and regret than the *last land* which one sees on sailing away from one's native country.[1] At this time the ship

[1] "Literal and verse translation, by the Rev. Thomas Twining of Colchester, of the lines in *Dante* from which Gray took 'The Curfew tolls,' etc., suggested by T. T.'s departure for India :—

"'"'Twas now the hour that changes the desire and touches the heart of sailors, on the day when they have bid adieu to their sweet friends, and that excites painful

was under charge of a pilot, a plain weather-beaten respectable old man. He alone gave orders about the sails, the course to be steered, etc., the Captain merely repeating these directions and seeing that they were promptly executed. The next day the old man gave notice that he should soon leave the ship in a pilot boat which he saw cruising ahead, and he obligingly offered to take charge of any letters we might wish to send to our friends. Anxious to avail myself of this opportunity, as far as the motion of the ship would allow me, I went below and wrote a few lines to my father, to let him know that our voyage had begun prosperously and that I was well. I afterwards heard that my letter reached my family and afforded them much pleasure. When the pilot had left us, which he did in a small boat sent for him from the cruiser, the ship, which had lain-to for a few minutes, again made sail, now under the command of the Captain, who gave his orders through a speaking trumpet in a loud voice and stern and peremptory manner, seeming, I thought, not a little pleased to be again in full possession of his authority.

Having, as I have said, never been in a ship before, my curiosity was much excited by the novelty of everything about me. I placed myself on the leeward side of the quarterdeck

sensations of love in the new traveller, if he hears at a distance the evening bell, which seems to weep the dying day.

> " ' 'Twas now the hour that to the hearts of those,
> Who to their dearest friends and native shore
> Have bid a long adieu, brings soft regret,
> And wishes changed, and many a homeward sigh ;
> The hour that smites the young adventurer's breast
> With pangs of love, when from the distant shore,
> Scarce dimly seen, the well-known evening bell
> Now strikes his ear, and to *his* fancy seems
> To mourn with solemn knell the dying day.'

" Gray altered *dying* to *parting*, not, my uncle thought, for the better.—M.P."

I received the above valuable literary communication from my accomplished sister, Mary Powell, who was much against my going to India, on account of the apparently delicate state of my health. In the end, the grief was on my side, for she did not live to witness my return home.

out of the way of the officers and sailors, and there noticed, with much interest, and not without some surprise, the manner of the Captain, who now appeared for the first time to me in that character. The smoothness and condescension which I had observed with so much satisfaction on shore, were gone at once, and were succeeded by qualities strikingly opposite, more resembling the rough elements on which he was in future to act,—and perhaps better suited to contend with these. His loud orders caused the most active movement in every part of the ship, and were executed with extraordinary rapidity and address, many of them simultaneously, yet all without mistake or confusion, although the ropes hung together and seemed scarcely distinguishable one from another. Different parties mounted the shrouds, while others were employed upon the deck hoisting the yards after the reefs had been let out, others in bracing them to the wind. I could not tell whether it was because we now had more sea-room, or from the natural ardour of the Captain, or from a desire to do more than the pilot, but the quantity of sail was considerably increased, and the wind blowing at the same time upon the starboard beam—that is, perpendicular against the starboard side — the ship went through the water very rapidly, but at the same time so much *over* on the opposite or larboard side that the Captain ordered the carpenter to see that all the ports on that side were closed. In consequence of this, my berth would have been reduced to complete darkness, but for the little scuttle, the utility of which I thus had early occasion to appreciate. By the light which it afforded, I could not only see my way to my cot, but was able to make a better distribution of my things, to meet the increased and increasing motion; putting everything that was loose into the little lockers over my head. I found that my large black trunk, placed against the side of the ship, opposite my bed, must serve me both as chair and table ; holding my pewter basin—a bottle of the same metal being suspended by a string to the deck. Having now made my final arrange-

ments for the open sea, I returned up the ladder to the quarter-deck, not failing to take off, or touch at least, my hat to the Captain, for I had already learned that this was a point of etiquette very strictly attended to. The same compliment was paid to the officer commanding the quarterdeck at the time, whatever his rank might be, and was even expected if there happened to be no officer there.

Proceeding day and night at a rapid rate, we reached, in a few days, the young seaman's hard trial—the Bay of Biscay. Here we entered a particular rough and irregular sea ; a broken *chopping* sea, as it was called on board, supposed to arise from the resistance of the European coast to the currents impelled against it by the prevailing westerly winds of the Atlantic ocean. I had suffered greatly from sea sickness from the time of our leaving the channel, but this was now much increased by the greatly increased motion of the ship. A fortnight had elapsed since we left the Downs, and few days of my life have been so devoid of comfort. During this time I had been unable to take any other nourishment than a little biscuit softened in some hot port wine. The tea, made with the impure offensive water from the casks, I was totally unable to drink, nor could I subdue this unfortunate repugnance during the rest of the voyage. The consequence was, that even after having cleared the Bay of Biscay, when I was able to take my place at the dinner table at two o'clock, I always remained without food to that hour, never joining the breakfast party.

The first part of the voyage was destitute of comfort in other respects of more importance. My companions kept the cabin in a constant state of noise and disorder. Their behaviour indeed was such that I thought it best to avoid, from the beginning, further communication than civility required. Thus I passed three weeks, not only under the constant oppression of sickness, but with scarcely any intercourse with anybody on board. I had indeed been particularly introduced to the Captain, my uncle who lived in the Strand having invited him to

dine with him, with the kind view, no doubt, of ensuring me his favour and protection. But I soon found the difference between a captain on shore and on board his ship. Mine, although an excellent commander, possessing presence of mind, vigilance, activity and spirit, though mixed with a considerable degree of nautical roughness, never addressed a word to me. Much, however, as I was surprised at this circumstance, an excess of timid reserve which I possessed at this period prevented my being painfully affected by it. Indeed, the attentions which I had been led to expect from the Captain would probably have been more embarrassing to me than his neglect, and I avoided rather than courted them. But I greatly regretted another circumstance; this was, my having no room, however small, to myself, no place where I could read or write; for it was impossible to do either in the cabin which I shared with so many others, not only on account of the uproar which almost always prevailed there, but often from an insufficiency of light, and indeed a want of convenience of every kind. I became uneasy at the idea of a total interruption of those pursuits by which my father, unsparing of expense, had endeavoured to prepare me for my new career. I counted with dismay the many months I was about to pass idly and unprofitably, when a friend, the last thing I could expect to find in my present situation, most unexpectedly presented himself to relieve all my embarrassment. One day the chief officer of the ship, having, it appeared, observed the inconvenience I was suffering, took me to his cabin, a neat well-furnished little room, on the starboard side of the steerage, or after-part of the gundeck, and showing me the convenience it possessed for writing or reading,—for there was a commodious desk or leaf attached by hinges to the side of the ship, close to a port,—begged me to make what use of it I wished; and calling Clinton, his servant, desired him to attend me, and procure me everything I wanted. The goodness of this kind man, Mr. Champion, son, I understood, of a respectable merchant of London, and the willing assiduity of his old com-

panion and excellent servant, Clinton, at once effected a great change in my situation; for, as the important duties of the chief officer led him to be almost constantly upon deck during the day, I was able, as soon as we had cleared the Bay of Biscay, when my sea sickness ceased, to spend as many hours to myself as I wished.

The first use I made of this invaluable indulgence was to open and read a certain little book which my father had put into my hands before parting. It was a letter addressed to me in a small clasped book, and contained the best advice which the most kind and judicious father could bestow upon his son on such an occasion, referring to every subject of importance or difficulty likely to occur in my present pursuit, and expressed with a fascinating tenderness, yet elegance, of language, for which the good and accomplished writer was so remarkable. I was much affected when I now perused, for the first time, this invaluable proof of parental affection and solicitude. How far I have followed the guide here given me I dare not examine minutely; but I sincerely feel that my success, when I have succeeded, and my errors, when I have erred, have been in proportion to my observance, or neglect, of the excellent advice contained in this precious gift.

Amongst the things which my friends had given me was a small portable writing desk. I moved this into the chief officer's cabin, placing it, when I wished to write, upon the movable leaf by the side of the port, where there was always plenty of light. Being now comfortably established in my new quarters, for I seemed more at home here than in my own cabin, I began a regular course of study of the Persian language, the characters of which, and but little more, I had already learned in London from a Welshman named Llewellyn, who lived up a narrow obscure court, to the south of the Strand, not far from Temple Bar.

While acknowledging my obligation to Mr. Champion for so much real advantage and comfort, I am sorry to say that I had

not the satisfaction I so much wished for of seeing this kind friend again after the present voyage. I heard with much regret that he did not long survive the return of the ship to England. I believe he never called upon my friends, prevented, I have no doubt, by the extreme modesty and disinterestedness of his character, and by a consciousness he could not but feel of his claims upon their attentions. He had been a long time at sea, and his constitution was evidently shaken and enfeebled by the vicissitudes and hardships, and probably, to judge from his years, by the disappointments of his profession. He had the reputation on board of being a good seaman, and certainly was a most unaffected amiable man. His behaviour towards the sailors, and to everybody in the ship, was particularly unassuming. He gave his orders on the quarterdeck without any professional severity or overbearing; his quiet mild demeanour forming a remarkable contrast with the loud imperious manner of the Captain.

Upon leaving the Bay of Biscay I was able to take my place at the Captain's table, and to make up in some measure for my long absence, having as usual, after such a course of sea sickness, a particularly good appetite. The dinner exhibited an abundance and variety which surprised me, consisting of many joints of mutton and pork variously dressed, curries and pillaus, chickens, ducks, and on Sundays turkeys and hams. It was almost inconceivable where so many things could be stowed, and how they could be dressed and served up day after day. This generous prodigality was such as to call forth the friendly remonstrances of the passengers, without, however, checking the liberal profusion.

The chairs round the table and the table itself were lashed down to iron staples driven into the deck. The dishes were kept in their places by means of long cushions of green baize stuffed with sawdust stretched across the table, and of smaller ones of a semicircular form placed under each dish, thus both raising its leeward edge and preventing it from slipping. The hour of

dining was two o'clock, and I waited for it not without impatience, being, as I have said, totally unable to partake of the public breakfast.

The wind being generally from the west, we kept along the coast of Portugal, but at too great a distance to be able to see the land. We passed in like manner before the Straits of Gibraltar, leaving on our right the Azores, islands belonging to Portugal, famous for their salubrious climate and fine oranges, and soon after, belonging to the same nation, the valuable island of Madeira, which I much wished to see; but it was not visible, though we were at no great distance from it. One or more of the Company's ships generally stopped at this island every season to take in Madeira wine, whether as a speculation or not I did not learn; probably for the use of their hospitals abroad.

Our course at this time was nearly south, and brought us in a few days to the Canaries, another set of islands, called formerly the Fortunate Islands, belonging to the Spaniards, by whom they were said to have been discovered in the year 1401; though it seemed strange that islands only twenty-five leagues from the African coast should not have been known sooner. Their latitude is from 27° 39′ to 29° 26′ N., and their longitude 15° 50′ to 20° 4′ W. Their population, comprised in seven islands, is about 170,000. Teneriffe forming one of this group, I had great hopes of seeing the celebrated peak, 4400 yards high, and visible, or said to be so, at the distance of fifty leagues. Although we passed within this limit I could see nothing but the clouds, which were said to envelop the top. At last the Captain said that the peak was visible, and I soon saw it distinctly without a telescope, appearing like a small black cloud projecting above a mass of white clouds which encircled and concealed the lower part of the mountain.

The strong winds which had carried us out of the British Channel and across the Bay of Biscay had gradually abated, and our progress now rarely exceeded five miles an hour. But the temperature of the air had become extremely pleasant, and the

sea being no longer so agitated nor the ship so cast down as to make it necessary to lower the ports even during the night, I found my berth sufficiently cool, and in the day was able to continue my studies in the chief mate's cabin with as much light and air as I desired. I had lately had a companion here —a black woman of the name of Charlotte, although a native of Bengal. Having accompanied an English family to England, she was now returning to her own country, and was employed by the officers of the ship to repair their linen. Her knowledge of the English language probably extended to a few words besides her name, but she was so exceedingly quiet and silent that I scarcely ever heard her speak. I regarded her with some curiosity as a specimen of the females of India.

Continuing our course steadily towards the south, we soon reached the northern tropic, which seemed to mark one step in our voyage; and running about 800 or 900 miles more in the same direction we came within sight of the island of St. Jago, the southernmost and largest of the Cape de Verde Islands. We saw the island very distinctly, not being indeed far from it, and might have approached it much nearer, but the Captain said there would be danger in that case of being becalmed, and he accordingly ordered that the ship might be kept a good offing. This step was shortly after justified in a singular manner; for, as we were going along with a fair breeze, we saw another ship, which imprudently ventured near the land, suddenly stopped in her course for want of wind, and we sailed away and left her in that mortifying situation. St. Jago is fifty leagues in circumference, and has a good harbour, called Porto Praya, which has been the scene of some important operations of the British navy. These islands are situated 20° W. and 15° N. They were discovered by the Portuguese in 1450, and still belong to that nation. They take their name from the Cape de Verde on the African coast, to which they are nearly opposite.

Still pursuing our southerly direction, in two days more we

were opposite the river Gambia. From this point we inclined more towards the middle of the Atlantic, with the view of passing the equator more to the west, where there was less probability of calms.

We now ran a long course, without any particular occurrence. The sun as we advanced becoming very powerful, an awning was suspended over the whole of the quarterdeck during the day, being rolled up towards evening. During the heat of the day, I went very little upon deck, but occupied myself below with Sir William Jones's excellent Persian Grammar, and a valuable Persian Dictionary which a most kind and respectable man, Mr. John Hingeston, a particular friend of my father's, had given me, as *his* present on my leaving England. With the aid of these two books, and the few lessons of Mr. Llewellyn, I had the satisfaction, so inexpressibly gratifying in the study of a new language, of finding that I was *getting on;* and though this progress was slow and laborious at first, it became quicker and easier as I advanced.

How deeply did I now feel the value of the indulgence which the chief mate had granted me. The port of the cabin being up, and the door hooked open three or four inches, there was always a current of air that rendered it cool, and as nobody ever entered it but Clinton and his master, who during the four hours of his watch never quitted the quarterdeck, Charlotte and I followed our respective pursuits without the smallest interruption. In the afternoon I generally spent two or three hours in exercise upon deck, walking up and down on the leeward side, unless the Captain happened not to be to windward.

Though one day followed another in dull uniformity, presenting no new object for observation,—nothing but an unvaried horizon unenlivened by a single sail,—I always found amusement, when I came upon deck, in noticing many nautical practices which were new to me. The prodigious *spread of sail* which the ship carried in the light breezes which now prevailed

particularly struck me. The quantity of canvas extended upon the masts in these latitudes, with the wind upon the quarter, when every sail could be set, was said to amount to many thousand square yards. The height of the main-top-gallant sail from the deck was also extraordinary, and in former times, in the timid infancy of navigation, this was the highest sail in the ship, as it still is in tempestuous seas. But we commonly carried two sails above this, the royal and the sky-scraper. I was at first inclined to think that these last were too small to contribute to the progress of the vessel, and to suspect that there was some vanity or ostentation in this display, for I had already found that affectation and foppery existed even in a ship. I was told, however, that these lofty sails, which, besides, were not so diminutive as they appeared to be, were really useful, frequently catching a current of wind which did not extend to the lower sails. There were, in further addition to the regular, or standing, sails, three large ones, called steering or studding sails, added by means of sliding booms to the *sides* of the three principal sails of the main and foremasts; for these accessory sails were not used upon the *mizzen*-mast, where their effect would be to take the wind out of the other sails, as well as to render the steering of the ship more difficult. As the *Ponsborne* glided through the sea under such an expanse of canvas, filled by a favourable breeze, she presented, in the still delightful evenings of these tropical regions, a picture truly beautiful; but the effect assumed a charm beyond description when the rising moon threw its light over our sails, and illumined and seemed to direct our course. It was impossible to see all this and not to feel that if a sea voyage has its inconveniences, it offers also scenes which perhaps rival the beauties of a land journey.

In this multiplied arrangement to accelerate, however little, the progress of the ship, nothing escaped the Captain's eye. Every sail, great or small, every rope, was adjusted with the utmost precision. He seemed to see in an instant the exact

state of the ship from the deck to the main-topmast head; and if a bow-line or bunt-line was slack, or a halyard not hauled *taut*, or a sheet not home to the yard,—such were the expressions which had become familiar to my ear,—his strong voice through the trumpet immediately put the sailors in motion to rectify the disorder. I was told that it was not usual for the captain to interfere in such matters of detail and secondary importance, but to leave them to the judgment and direction of the commanding officer of the watch. But our Captain's zeal was not to be restrained by such delicacy. The moment he discovered the least thing amiss, or not exactly to his mind, he seized the trumpet, and vociferated his own orders, without any regard to etiquette, or consideration for the feelings of the officers. But although this impetuousness doubtless gave pain to these meritorious men, as tending to lower their consequence in the ship, it did not appear to diminish their attachment to him. They generously considered that it was rather the excess of a good quality, an anxious sense of the great charge entrusted to him.

The "*old Ponsborne*," as she was called, was a fine-looking vessel of about 800 tons, with a line of ports on each side, and a poop (a superstructure containing cabins and also the cuddy, or dining-room) on the upper deck, extending from the mizzen-mast to the stern. She was, however, less distinguished for her beauty, or even the swiftness of her sailing, than for her valuable qualities as, what the sailors call, a *sea boat*, that is, a stout vessel that rides the sea well in stormy weather.

Sailing in time of peace (for the war with France did not begin till the following year), when seamen were plentiful, and their wages low, we were well manned, having an efficient crew of above 100 men, besides carpenters, sailmakers, gunner, poulterer, and two cooks, one for the crew, the other for the Captain's table. There were six officers, or mates, besides the Captain. These were divided into watches, each watch lasting four hours, excepting from four till eight in the afternoon, which interval

was divided into *two* watches, viz. from four to six, and from six to eight—called, I know not why, the dog watches. Two officers were on service in each watch, one on the quarterdeck, who commanded the after part of the ship, the other, the junior of the two, on the part *before* the mainmast, where he commanded, or rather superintended, the details of that part, for the senior officer on the quarterdeck had a general command over the whole ship. While the officers were divided into three parties for the service of the watches, the seamen were divided into two only, of which one was allotted to the fore part of the vessel, and called the foremast men, the other to the part behind the mainmast, and called the after-guard. It was considered an honour to belong to the first division, for the Captain and principal officers being in the other, the best sailors, to counterbalance this superiority, were given to the fore part of the ship, or forecastle, where the junior officers were stationed. Some men were constantly placed in the *tops* of the main and foremasts to be ready to execute any orders relating to the sails upon the upper parts of those masts.

Among the many peculiarities of a ship of which I was previously quite ignorant was the manner of keeping time. The day began at noon. When this was approaching, the Captain and all the officers assembled upon deck with their quadrants, and standing upon the side towards the sun ascertained its elevation by bringing its reflection to the line of the horizon, when at its highest point, or meridian. The moment of highest elevation being thus ascertained, the ringing of the ship's bell ("Ring the bell!" the Captain exclaimed) announced to every one on board that a new day had commenced. It was evident that the solar altitude could be obtained with precision, when alone the sun and horizon were both visible. The degrees given upon the quadrant by the movable index being observed, an easy calculation, facilitated by printed tables, gave the latitude of the ship, and of course determined the progress she had made, northward or southward, during the last twenty-four hours.

The result was then written down on the log-board. The hours and half-hours were marked, not by a clock, but by striking the bell suspended near the foremast; one stroke, afternoon, signifying half-past twelve; two strokes, two half-hours, or one o'clock; three, half-past one; eight strokes, four o'clock; when they began again, the bell being never struck more than eight times, and being *rung* for a few moments at the completion of the twenty-four hours—at twelve o'clock in the day. When any one wished to know the hour, the question was, how many bells? the answer being, two bells, four bells, or six bells, as it might be one, two, or three o'clock; or the "bell has rung," if it were past twelve. All the proceedings of the ship were noted down as they occurred with a piece of chalk upon the log-board before mentioned, which was always kept at hand upon the deck, generally near the steering-wheel, for that purpose. It was a large black board, ruled with twenty-four lines, which were respectively marked with the numbers of the twenty-four hours, that is, with 1 to 12 for the first twelve hours, finishing at midnight, and the same figures, 1, 2, 3, etc., for the second series, closing at noon. The transactions, if any, of each hour, the state of the weather, direction and force of the wind, course and progress of the ship, any sail in sight, employment of the crew, what sail upon the ship, any unusual occurrences or casualties of any kind, were all carefully noted down upon their appropriate lines.

The distance run by the ship was ascertained every hour by means of a long line branching into two lines about three feet from the extremity. One of these ends was *fixed* to a corner of a small piece of flat board called the log, nearly equi-triangular; the second end was also attached to the log at another corner, but by a peg only. The circular side or bottom being charged with lead, the board preserved a perpendicular position when thrown into the water, and then offered sufficient resistance to remain stationary, while the line was freely given out to it as the ship went on.

The important and interesting operation of *heaving the log* was confided to the midshipmen, junior officers whose station was upon the poop. One of these very young men threw the log, with a few yards of line, over the stern, and drew away the line from a reel held by another of these officers, a third holding a minute or half-a-minute sandglass, according to the sailing of the ship at the time. The moment the glass was out, the midshipman holding it called out "stop," when the one who was giving out the line immediately stopped it, and observing by the nearest mark or knot upon it how much had run out, the rate of sailing was at once known, as well at least as such a contrivance could establish it, and reported to the officer of the watch, who, making such allowance as he judged necessary for any variations that might have occurred during the hour, placed the result upon the black board. In order to destroy the perpendicular direction of the log so that it could be drawn back to the ship, the midshipman gave the line a sudden jerk, which, displacing the peg, the board lay horizontally upon the water and was easily drawn in. The number of nautical miles run being proportionately indicated by knots upon the line, I was no longer surprised that knots should, in the vocabulary of the ship, be substituted for miles, a word which was never used in reference to the ship's sailing. She was said to be going so many *knots* an hour, never so many *miles*. At twelve every day the numbers which had been inscribed hourly upon the board were cast up, and the total became a subject of curiosity and interest to all on board, particularly in the impatience of the last few weeks of a long voyage. The board being now full was given to the Captain's clerk, or to one of the midshipmen officiating as such, to be copied into a large book called the *log-book*, of which great care was taken, it forming an exact record of all the transactions of the ship. The black log-board, being wiped with a sponge, was again ready to receive the new day's proceedings.

Another nautical particularity which I had long had occasion to observe was the strict etiquette which prevailed respecting

the windward side of the quarterdeck. The Captain always walked on the weather side, and even on the *weathermost part* of that side; and it would have been considered an act of great ignorance or offensive presumption by him, or by the lord of the deck at the time, for any one to pass between the wind and his nobility. If a sailor had occasion to pass from the head to the stern of the ship, he invariably kept to the *leeward* side, and I almost always confined my walk to that side, unless Mr. Champion, or the second mate, Mr. Dolrec, a native of Guernsey or Jersey, a very gentlemanly man, was on the other. The Captain, when *he* was there, seemed to require it all to himself.

The ship was steered from the upper deck by means of a large vertical wheel, the spokes of which, projecting a few inches beyond the circumference, afforded a firm and powerful purchase to the men employed to turn it,—two, three, and even four, according to circumstances. In smooth water and fair weather, with a light steady breeze on one side, *one* man alone would be at the wheel; the fore and aft sails being so trimmed as to balance each other and keep the ship nearly in a fixed direction with very little assistance from the rudder. The rope, about an inch in diameter, passing round the cylinder which formed the axis of the wheel, was conducted perpendicularly through the gundeck to the gunroom below it, where, after traversing two pulleys attached to the sides of the ship, it was led to the end of a great beam or lever fixed in the rudder itself. The steersmen were selected for this important service from the most experienced and intelligent of the crew. They were under the immediate control of a respectable petty officer called the quartermaster, who, standing by the weather side of the quarterdeck, where he could see all the sails, directed the men at the wheel, calling out, "starboard! starboard a little! larboard! thyce, keep her thyce!" (meaning, thus, keep her thus), "up with the helm! down with the helm! meet her again!" Starboard here meant putting the helm, or end of the great beam or tiller in the gunroom, to the starboard side, so as to give the

ship's head a more larboard direction. Thus the direction given to the ship's course was always contrary to the sense of the term used by the quartermaster; starboard, as to the effect upon the ship, meaning larboard, and larboard, starboard.

The Captain, who, notwithstanding some little roughness, was a most generous, kindhearted man, showed a degree of compassionate liberality towards the men at the wheel,—the quartermaster and steersmen,—that was highly pleasing, and such as I have never witnessed in any other ship. There was every day a large bowl of punch suspended from the deck, immediately before the Captain, after dinner; and amusing it was to see this capacious reservoir swinging about from one side to the other, and backwards and forwards, as if its precious contents would flow over upon the table every instant. Although we knew that the bowl was stationary, and that *we* were the objects that moved, it was difficult to prevent the illusion. Now, whatever remained of this punch, frequently half the bowl, the Captain invariably gave to the men at the wheel, handing the bowl itself to them.

Amongst the many peculiarities of expression on board, was the use of the word *hand*. Thus when the Captain wished a seaman to go to the main-topmast head, as he often did, in order to ascertain if any vessel was in sight, he called out, "A hand to the main-topmast head." "Hands aloft," meaning that the sailors were to ascend the shrouds. "Four hands in the jolly-boat," meaning that four *men* were to get into the small boat so called.

I learned, too, that whistling was strictly interdicted, it being considered not only disrespectful, but an omen of misfortune to the ship. If the wind was fair, whistling, it was thought, would make it foul. If however there was a calm, it was usual to *whistle for a wind*, but then this privilege was confined to the Captain.

These are trifling remarks, but though *repeated* now, they were made long ago, and describe my observations and im-

pressions at an early period of my life, when the circumstances to which they refer were quite new to me. To my inexperience the ship was a new country, in which curiosity, constantly attracted to some novel occurrence, often discovered an unexpected source of interest and amusement, of information and improvement. I had indeed no taste, but rather a repugnance, for maritime affairs; but the rules and customs of the ship, the character and habits of sailors, and the singularities of a sea life, afforded matter for observation, and rendered by no means dull or wearisome our long and eventless course across the Atlantic.

As we approached the equinoctial line, the winds became very light and baffling, and the weather extremely hot, so much so as to melt the tar upon the ropes, and between the planks of the deck. Frequently there was no wind at all, the sails flapping against the masts at each pitch of the ship; for although the surface of the sea was perfectly smooth in these calms, there was always a considerable swell. Sometimes on these occasions the ship would become quite unmanageable, her head turning all round the compass, though every effort was made to keep it the right way, it being calculated that we then always advanced twenty or thirty miles in the twenty-four hours by the mere impulsion derived from the pitching of the vessel.

But I soon found that there was no idleness on board a ship. There was always something to be done. Thus even the calms which now prevailed were turned to useful account. The jolly-boat, which was suspended over the stern, was lowered down, and some of the crew went round the ship in it, scraping, scrubbing, and cleaning her sides, removing quantities of barnacles, and other small crustaceous fish, which had attached themselves to the parts above the copper. This last circumstance fully manifested the great advantage of the modern practice of coppering the bottoms of vessels; for instead of the smooth surface of coppered vessels, the bottoms of ships

formerly engaged in long voyages used to be so covered and roughened with various species of shell fish adhering to them, that their progress through the water was greatly impeded, and the voyage much lengthened, exclusive of serious injury to the planks of the ship; for some of these singular little animals would so perforate the hardest planks that they had the appearance of being bored all over with a gimblet. It was reckoned that a voyage to India was now made in a month less than the time required before the practice of coppering was introduced.

The sides of the ship being well cleaned, were painted afresh, less for ornament than to guard them from the scorching effects of the sun. The calkers were employed in recalking the seams of the ship, by driving fresh oakum (old ropes untwisted and pulled out) into them. These operations of scrubbing, calking, and painting were performed upon movable stages suspended over the sides of the ship, when the parts were too high to be reached from the boats. I could not but pity the men thus employed, for they were exposed to a sun which appeared unsupportable.

In one of these calms the Captain himself went in the boat to a short distance from the ship, to examine her appearance, and gave various orders in consequence, such as *setting-up* or tightening the rigging, a tedious and laborious operation, for adjusting the rake, or inclination, of the masts, which was done by tightening or loosening the stays. He ordered also a change in the *trim* of the ship, for the daily expenditure of water, provisions, and coals by nearly 150 persons had destroyed the proper equilibrium, which it was necessary to restore by shifting part of the cargo and of the guns and shot, moving these farther forward or aft, as the case required.

These calms afforded occupation to the passengers also, by bringing sharks about the ship. A few shark-hooks and harpoons formed part of the ship's stores, being placed under care of the boatswain. The former were now brought forward,

they were about eight inches long, made of strong iron of nearly the size of a man's little finger, and were attached to a short chain, as the shark would bite through a rope. At the end of the chain was a ring, to which a strong rope was made fast, and the hook, being baited with a piece of salt meat, was thrown over the stern. It seldom had time to sink more than two or three feet before the shark, which was quite visible in the clear water, moved rapidly forward, turned rather upon its side (and not upon its back, as commonly said), and seized the bait. A tremendous struggle now ensued, and many hands were necessary to hold the rope, violently pulled by the enraged fish in its efforts to escape. It was, however, never allowed to turn its head from the ship; it was, on the contrary, raised as near as possible to the surface of the water, so as just to let this run into its mouth, and thus *drown* it, as the sailors called it. After keeping it a few minutes in this position, to exhaust its strength, a running noose was made in a still stronger rope, and being passed over the line to which the fish was suspended, was allowed to encircle its body a little behind its head, when it was tightened, and the weight upon the hook lessened; and now, and not before, the shark was considered as secure. The two ropes were next passed round the ship's quarter, to the waist or middle, where it was hoisted on board. The size and fierceness of this terrific monster, when it reached the deck, excited the astonishment of those who witnessed such a scene for the first time. It bounded about with surprising strength, striking the planks with its tail, with a force that would certainly have caused serious injury to any one who had come within its reach. Though it was its tail which the sailors were most careful to avoid, instances were said to have occurred in which sharks, when upon the deck, and apparently so exhausted as to be no longer dangerous, had suddenly sprung and seized persons who ventured to approach them. When at length there was an end to the struggles and sufferings of this terrible enemy of sailors, they drew him forward to the fore-

castle, to dispose of him as they pleased. They generally dressed a part, although the flesh is very strong, particularly in fish of a large size. They made buttons of the vertebræ of the backbone, and cleaned and prepared with great care the monstrous jaw, armed with several rows of teeth, most of which lie depressed till the fish fastens upon its prey. I bought one of these trophies in exchange for some gin, the usual currency of a ship, and could pass it, when open, over my body like a hoop.

I once witnessed an extraordinary instance of the pertinacity and swiftness of a shark in pursuit of food. The sailors, having caught one, were not a little surprised to find in it the entire bone of a leg of mutton, which was recognised as having been thrown overboard several days, during which the ship had run some hundred miles. Another circumstance, of a more interesting character, was that the shark was frequently accompanied by one or two small fish, called pilot-fish. They were about six inches long, and marked along the sides by dark stripes. I have seen these little fish precede the shark to the bait, and discovering, apparently, the danger it contained, return to the shark, place themselves before it, and endeavour, with the most evident anxiety and agitation, to divert it from its resolution. And when, in spite of these warnings, the shark took the bait, and was suspended to the hook, the pilot-fish evinced the greatest distress and did not seek its own safety till the shark was removed from the water. It was said that in return for this faithful service the shark protected these little fish against their natural enemies.

For some days our progress had been extremely slow, the log-board exhibiting, for many successive hours each day, a perfect blank. The tar became so liquefied that it was almost impossible to touch any part of the ship without being besmeared. Two large Newfoundland dogs which were on board were quite covered with it, and presented a singular appearance, — their long coats being matted together. At

length a slight breeze from the south-east was hailed with great satisfaction by the Captain, who pronounced it to be the *tail of the trade wind*, and would probably carry us to the line in two or three days. The breeze having gradually become more fresh as we advanced towards the south, the observations at twelve o'clock of the third day were anxiously expected, and they finally declared that the latitude was only a few miles north, and we should consequently pass the equator in an hour or two. This passage now became the subject of general attention, and of much pleasantry on the part of the old sailors towards the new. These were told to be prepared for a considerable shock the ship would feel as she passed over the line, and were invited to look ahead through a telescope, in which a hair or thread had secretly been placed between the glasses. Amidst these and numerous other jokes we crossed the equator, and dining that day in the southern division of the globe, this circumstance was the source of much hilarity and congratulation at the cuddy-table.

Whilst *we* were thus merry, the sailors were not idle; they were busily employed in making preparations to celebrate their great festival, and when the Captain and company were about to rise from table, musical sounds like those of kettles and divers brazen instruments, accompanied by joyous shouts from the forecastle, announced Neptune's approach to the quarterdeck. The Captain and officers immediately rose, and, followed by the passengers, went to the quarterdeck to receive him. His majesty was seated on an elevated marine car, which was observed to partake somewhat of the form of a gun carriage. It was drawn by various sea animals, and followed by a long line of Tritons and other officers of Neptune's court. He was splendidly dressed in the costume of his kingdom, an ample robe of state, resembling in some respect the British flag, covering his athletic form. A large turban, in which red, blue, and white were the principal colours, encircled his head, while a venerable beard, as thick and flowing as a *bunch* of *rope yarns*,

descended to his breast. In his right hand he bore the famed emblem of his power, which, from its form, might almost have been conjectured to have been the prototype of *a ship's harpoon.* By his side, in equally splendid attire, sat Amphitrite, whose unusual proportions bespoke her more than *female* descent. Their majesties were surrounded by numerous personages gaudily and fantastically dressed. They seemed a joyful race, dancing round the car with great glee.

Neptune having waved his trident to command silence, addressed the Captain, saying that he had long known his great merit ; that a more able and skilful commander never entered his dominions ; that, informed of his approach, he had himself left his palace at the bottom of the deep in order to receive him with the honours due to his distinguished qualities, and assure him of his protection during the remainder of his voyage. He added that he and his court would have had much pleasure in drinking the Captain's health, but that the *spirits* of the land were rarely seen in his watery kingdom.

The Captain, seeming readily to understand Neptune's language, called for the great punch bowl, and presented it with an appropriate speech to the god and goddess, and promised a similar mark of his satisfaction that afternoon to the ship's crew. Neptune returned thanks, and said he should now retire to give orders that all on board who had not before visited this part of his dominions should be received with the usual honours of baptism.

Whilst some heard this declaration with joy, it made others tremble. I was of the latter number, particularly as I knew that Neptune's promise would be executed rigorously by his powerful myrmidons. I was at a loss how to withdraw myself from my share of the intended ceremonial, of which I had a great horror,—all submersion being very painful to me. Fortunately it occurred to me that my father, on my leaving England, had furnished me with a little case containing the very liquor which Neptune had put with such apparent satis-

faction to his lips. I found Clinton, and informing him of my intention, begged him to go and tell Neptune that, though I was too young to be *shaved*, I was willing to make my homage in a way perhaps fully as agreeable to his *taste*. Clinton executed my request promptly and satisfactorily, bringing me the agreeable assurance that I should be an unmolested spectator of the approaching rites.

These soon began. Half a large hogshead was placed upon the leeward gangway, abreast of the mainmast, and filled with salt water. The victims, such persons as had not passed the line before, were arranged near. On one side of the vat, or shaving tub, as it was called, stood Neptune's barber with his razor — a large piece of old iron hoop — in his hand ; on the other side, his assistant, with a bucketful of tar and a large painter's brush. The person to be shaved first was now stripped of his coat and seated upon the edge of the tub, his neckcloth removed, and the black soap applied to his face and neck without tenderness or economy. He was then plunged backwards into the salt water, from which it was no easy matter to rise,—his legs remaining over the side of the tub, and he being pushed back as soon as he raised himself a little. Although three dips were the minimum with which the *favoured* were indulged, the number was carried much farther, according to any feeling of dislike or vengeance towards the unfortunate patient. Thus the great delight of the crew in this barbarous ceremony is to have a *purser* in their hands. Our purser was an old seaman who had long passed the ordeal, but I once saw a purser, who was not very popular with the sailors, besmeared and scraped with merciless severity, and replunged into the water, with his coat on, as often as he attempted to extricate himself from his most painful situation. Indeed the accidents attending this objectionable custom are often very serious, and sometimes fatal. I once followed to the grave at Calcutta a gentleman, lately arrived, whose death was occasioned by a blow he had received on this occasion on his way

to India. The Court of Directors ought to abolish this odious abuse of indulgence on board their ships, especially as it would be easy to satisfy the sailors by the compromise so successful in my case. That part at least of the festival which consists of harmless mirth and pleasing relaxation should be separated from that which is vindictive, revolting, and dangerous.

A few degrees to the south of the line, in a fair moonlight night, we were agreeably surprised to see three large ships coming with the trade-wind from the south-east. It being time of peace, we so altered our course as to meet them. When sufficiently near, the Captain took his long trumpet, not the one he generally used in giving his orders, but one much longer, and asked who they were, whence they came, and their destination. Their answer informed us that they were Dutch ships from Batavia, bound to Holland. In return we gave them the same particulars regarding our ship, and then exchanged longitude, that is, reciprocally communicated our supposed longitudinal position. As we were sailing in nearly opposite directions there was no time for further intercourse, and we therefore wished each other a good voyage, and separated. While this parley was going on, the greatest silence prevailed on board both ships. Our Captain, I observed, spoke very slowly as well as loud, and I was told that there was some art in speaking intelligibly through these long hailing-trumpets as they were called. It was necessary to speak as slow as possible and *syllabise* the words, which would otherwise be heard confusedly and indistinctly. Our Captain seemed to do this, as he did *everything*, extremely well; not a word that he uttered was lost. One circumstance about these strangers was singular. They all had their topgallant sails upon the cap, that is, lowered, although the wind was fair and steady, and their situation between the tropics precluded all danger from storms. The night, too, was beautifully fine and the moon shone bright. We, on the contrary, had every sail set as in the daytime, even steering sails and royals. The Captain accounted for this pre-

caution in the Dutchmen by saying that in the first voyages to India, and even long after, the danger was considered so great, and was undoubtedly much greater than it is at present, that the commanders of Dutch ships were expressly forbidden to carry their gallant sails during the night, which rule had been continued to the present time ; a singular instance of the absurdity of following old rules no longer applicable to existing circumstances, or when better ones are discovered. I observed on this occasion, as well as others, that the meeting another ship is one of the most interesting events that occur at sea.

As we advanced towards the southern tropic, the changes we had experienced on approaching the equator were reversed. The breezes became gradually more fresh and the climate more cool, but no circumstance struck me at first as more remarkable than to see my shadow at mid-day towards the south. We now saw the light and elegant bird called the tropic bird ; it is yellow, apparently about the size of a pigeon, with, as it seemed, a long feather at its tail, called by the sailors a boatswain's whistle. I was told that this was *not* a feather, but the legs of the bird extended backwards in its flight. It was always on the wing ; at least, I never saw it on the water. We saw also the man-of-war bird, a larger and stronger bird that always flew high and never approached the ship.

But my curiosity was most gratified by the frequent appearance of the flying-fish, sometimes seen in shoals or *flocks*, sometimes singly. Few natural novelties are more surprising and pleasing. It is rather larger than a gudgeon and has a large fin on each side its body, by means of which it is enabled to fly short distances, at the end of which it touches the water for an instant, as if to wet its wings, and then rises again. The height of its flight is generally about 15 feet, its length about 100 yards. It seemed to make use of its wings only as a means which nature had given it of escaping from other fish, particularly from its great enemy, the dolphin, which pursued it with extraordinary eagerness and rapidity, keeping its eye upon it in

the air and endeavouring to catch it when it retouched the water. It is when thus pursued that I have seen it fly across the course of the ship, and, striking against the rigging, fall upon the deck.

Sometimes a single dolphin was seen pursuing a single flying-fish, sometimes a shoal of the latter was chased by a shoal of dolphins, who were distinctly visible near the surface of the sea, and rapidly passed the ship. But the sight was more interesting, the instinctive efforts of the flying-fish more surprising and beautiful, the swiftness and eagerness of the dolphin more observable, when the chase was single. The poor flying-fish then appeared to sustain a longer flight and the dolphin to exceed its usual ardour and celerity, darting from the top of one wave to another, while its bright colours glittered in the sun. I have said that the inconvenience of a sea voyage has its compensations; and certainly, among the pleasing novelties of such a voyage may be reckoned this beautiful phenomenon of the flying-fish.

But I perceived that while my observation was principally engaged with the fish that flew, the attention of the sailors was directed to the dolphin, for this being considered the best *eating* fish caught at sea, its appearance immediately attracted the notice of the crew, particularly of the fishermen among them. These began to prepare their baits by covering a large hook with a piece of candle fashioned into the form of a flying-fish, small bits of cloth or rag meant to resemble wings being attached to the sides. This rude imitation was thrown over the stern, the sailor holding the line checking it and drawing it suddenly out of the water, with the view of producing something like the motion of the flying-fish. Although this deception, imperfect as it seemed to be, succeeded in some cases, the dolphin is not often caught; as it generally keeps too far from the ship, and more on the beam than under the stern. It bears no resemblance to the *poetic* dolphin or crooked fish which adorns the signs of inns. On the contrary, it is a straight fish, almost two feet long, and

not unlike a salmon of similar dimensions. The most remarkable circumstance I observed about it, was the extraordinary variety and change of colours which it exhibited during the lingering agonies of its death: vivid flashes of green, blue, yellow, and orange appearing and disappearing and appearing again, in varied and beautiful succession, not unlike the luminous glow of the aurora borealis.

When this beautiful but painful exhibition was concluded, on the quarterdeck, where everybody was assembled to see it, the fish was not restored, as I supposed it would be, to the sailors who had caught it, but (*sic vos non vobis*) was delivered to the Captain's cook, the dolphin being, it appeared, the royal fish of a ship. I thus had an opportunity of tasting it at the Captain's table; but though considered the best fish caught at sea, I thought it very dry and coarse and quite inferior to the fish of the narrow seas.

Another remarkable object in the tropical latitudes we were now traversing, was a gelatinous substance which I frequently saw floating upon the sea. It was about three inches in breadth and one in thickness, and nearly transparent. On the upper surface was sometimes seen a light film or skin of a triangular form, something like the jib of a ship, which the seamen called the sail, and which it was supposed to have the faculty of raising or lowering. From the inferior part descended a fibre or thread called the cable, by means of which the fish was said to be able to attach itself to the shore or rocks or steer its way through the sea. It seemed difficult to controvert or establish the accuracy of these opinions. I thought the substance had the appearance of being an animal production, but catching one one day by means of a bucket lowered from the port of the chief mate's cabin, I examined it very particularly without being able to discover any signs of life or organisation, or anything to distinguish it from an inanimate lump, excepting a certain regularity of form and some black spots about the centre. Upon my returning it to the sea, the ship's

progress prevented my observing whether it set sail again or manifested any other motion. It was a favourite object with the sailors, and had indeed a singular and elegant appearance as it sailed along on the surface of the waves, like a fairy of the deep. The sailors called it a Portuguese man-of-war. Its beauty and delicacy might have suggested a more poetic name.[1] But things, I observed, were generally called by some vulgar or ridiculous name, which the first navigators probably had given them, and not distinguished by any scientific designation. In fact, there seemed to be no science in the ship, though it might be expected that well-educated men such as the captain and officers, and particularly the surgeon, would know the scientific names at least, and even something of the general characters and history, of the principal marine animals and substances peculiar to the seas through which they so often passed. The impossibility of obtaining information upon such subjects as they occurred, often made me regret that I had not directed my attention to them and included them in my studies before I left England. A sea voyage, like a land journey, would be rendered much more amusing and instructive by such preparation.

But it is not the wonders of the deep alone which call forth surprise in the ship's progress through the ocean south of the equator. Of all the objects which I beheld no one so filled my mind with astonishment and admiration as the extraordinary resplendence of the constellations of the southern hemisphere. Their superior brilliancy, compared with those of the northern, was very striking. The nearest to the pole were the Bee, the Indian, the Cameleon, etc., and, in an inferior circle, the bright stars of the Altar, the four beautiful ones composing the cross , and the brilliant triangle. The numerous constellations of the Ship, Eridanus, and the Centaur, nearer the equator, were also beautifully conspicuous. Some of the primary stars in the three last shone through the clear atmosphere of these regions with extraordinary splendour. Such indeed was their

[1] Pope says, "Taught by the little nautilus to sail."

brightness that more than once the Captain took an observation with them, to compare the result with that given by the ordinary reckoning, and thus to determine our position with the greater certitude.

Often, in this part of the voyage, did I sit upon the stern of the ship till a late hour in the midnight watch, contemplating this marvellous display of celestial grandeur and magnificence.

> These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
> Almighty, thine this universal frame,
> Thus wondrous fair.

We had now traversed, not only the whole, nearly, of the Atlantic Ocean, from east to west, from the coast of Africa to the shore of America, but almost the distance between the two tropics, being arrived within a few degrees of the tropic of Capricorn. We had seen no land since leaving St. Jago, and no ship excepting the three Dutchmen. It was therefore with much pleasure I heard the Captain announce that we might possibly see the island of Trinidad the next day if his reckoning was true, by which he meant if the ship was in the longitude supposed; for after a long separation from land the longitude of our situation was always a matter of some uncertainty, it being far more difficult to obtain *this* with precision than the *latitude*, the calculation being founded upon uncertain data, namely, the irregular movements of the timekeepers. These, though greatly improved of late years, and very superior to the best common watches, are still subject to the influence of the atmosphere, and, of course, to variation. If the time at the observatory of Greenwich or Paris, from which the English and French respectively reckon their longitude, were known by means of an unvarying watch or timekeeper set at either of these places, there would be no difficulty in determining the exact longitudinal position of a ship; for the difference between the ship's time and that of the chronometer would at once show this. It is for this reason that so much importance is attached to the discovery of a good timekeeper, for a *perfect*

one is scarcely to be considered attainable; nor indeed is perfection necessary, for if a ship's position could be known within a few seconds, her safety would be assured.

An object so deeply interesting to navigation in general, and particularly to a maritime nation, induced the British Parliament to encourage, by large rewards, improvements in marine chronometers. I have heard that so large a sum as £20,000 was promised for a certain degree of perfection, and £10,000 and £5000 for other inferior degrees. I believe that £10,000 have actually been given to a maker of the name of Arnold, and £5000 to the late Thomas Mudge of London. The watch which I now wear was made by the last celebrated maker. He lived on the northern side of Fleet Street, about 100 yards to the east of St. Dunstan's Church, and was acquainted with my uncle John, who then lived in the Strand, and he advised him to buy the watch in question, as being a very good one. My uncle, who was rather curious in such things, did buy it, and finding that it well merited Mr. Mudge's commendation, made a present of it to my father. It is still an excellent watch, but its chief value to me is derived from the above little family history attached to it, and from its having been left to me by my father at his death.

The Captain had several chronometers on board, entrusted to him by makers who hoped to obtain a portion of the public rewards. They were larger than a common watch, but plain and simple in their exterior appearance. They were enclosed by way of protection in small mahogany cases, about six inches square, an aperture being left before the glass. They were wound up every Saturday, and their time noted in a register kept for that purpose, for the information of the makers on the ship's return, when also their total gain or loss during the voyage would be seen. Should this emulation of talent and patriotic enterprise lead to the discovery of a nearly exact measure of time, the danger of long voyages and the loss of ships and lives at sea would be greatly diminished, a large

part of these accidents arising, at present, from errors in the calculation of a ship's longitude. If these perilous errors are not avoidable in ships duly equipped, and navigated by intelligent scientific officers, provided with chronometers of the most improved construction, how much more frequent and greater must they be in ordinary vessels ill-provided with these costly instruments, and commanded by persons often extremely ignorant of navigation. Thus it is not uncommon for such ships to err whole degrees in their longitudinal reckoning, and to run on shores and reefs from which they were supposed to be 100 or 200 miles distant. Some of the facts of this kind reported by the officers at the dinner table were quite extraordinary.[1]

Our Captain made no such mistake on approaching Trinidad, but he had the prudence to keep the ship's head due west all night, in order to preserve a line of latitude in which he knew the island was *not*, and thus avoid all possibility of accident.

The next morning we saw land, above the horizon, on our larboard bow. We immediately stood towards it, and were soon near enough to see its form distinctly. There is a peculiar gratification in seeing land again after being long at sea that it is impossible to describe; and deeply did I feel this pleasure

[1] When finally returning from India, after a stormy passage round the Cape, in which, one night, Admiral Rainier's ship, with Sir Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, on board, was supposed to be in considerable danger, a tremendous gale separated us from the fleet, and drove us towards the western coast of Africa, a few degrees to the north of Cape Town. We were so near land one afternoon, according to the calculation of the chief officer, who had succeeded to the command of the ship, in consequence of the death of the captain, that we anxiously looked out for it through the mist that surrounded us, but the sun, the last we expected to see from the vessel, went down without our being able to discover it. As we continued to drive to leeward, there was every probability of our being wrecked in the night, and, if we reached the shore, of finding ourselves in the hands of inhospitable savages in the morning. The sun again rose, but no land was yet visible, although according to our reckoning the ship was already *sixty miles in the interior*. The wind fortunately shifting, we were able to stand to sea, and escaped from our perilous situation. Here the singular error proceeded, it was probable, not from negligence or nautical incapacity, but from the inability of the officers to make use of their instruments during the thick weather which had prevailed for many days previously.

as I looked at the little island before us. My interest would have been increased if it had been inhabited, which it was not; nor was there even much appearance of natural vegetation. A line of flat coast, extending along the northern side, terminated towards the interior in a chain of hills which appeared to stretch the whole length of the island. But the most singular feature was an elevated abrupt projection towards the western extremity, called from its form the Sugar Loaf Mountain. There was some question of sending a boat for water, of which there was reported to be a spring, at the entrance of a little valley which we perceived, but there appearing some uncertainty upon this point, the proposal was finally abandoned. The Captain indeed seemed rather uneasy whilst we remained near the island, for I observed that old seamen were afraid of land, differing in this respect from young mariners, who think themselves never so safe as when land is near. When I heard that a boat was likely to be sent ashore, I felt a great desire to go in her, but did not dare to make the request to the Captain. As it was, I contented myself with making, as well as I could, a slight sketch of the island for my friends in England.

We now steered for its south-western extremity, and having cleared it, resumed our course towards the south; but I remained upon the poop looking at this small solitary spot with much interest, and lost sight of it with regret, for it was the last land we were likely to see during the voyage.

This isle was not the *great* island of Trinidad situated near the coast of South America, opposite the mouths of the Oronooko, but a very small island near 20° of south latitude, and about 10° east of Rio Janeiro.

Having passed the tropic of Capricorn, and advanced some degrees farther south, other climates and other appearances presented themselves. The wind became strong and cold, the horizon cloudy and threatening. We had frequent squalls, accompanied with rain. We caught some of this by spreading the awning, and putting a cannon shot upon it, thereby pro-

ducing a sort of funnel, under which a water cask was put. Other birds now collected about the ship—the enormous white albatross, harbinger of storms, almost always on the wing, though it sometimes settled on the water astern of the ship in search of food; also some small birds, about the size of a duck, called Mother Cary's chickens, from some traditional stories of the sailors.[1]

These changes denoting our approach to the tempestuous latitudes of the Cape of Good Hope, all hands were employed in putting the ship in the best condition for encountering the gales we might soon expect. The principal sails were taken down, and replaced by others—newer, smaller, and stronger. The long-boat, and yawl over it, placed between the main and foremasts, and the spars,—that is, spare timber for making new yards, booms, etc., arranged by the sides of the boats,—were made more fast by additional ropes. The important tiller rope for steering the ship was changed, and the great dining-table and other furniture were lashed down more strongly. Taking a hint from these precautions, I revised the state of my own concerns, repacking my things in my lockers, and strengthening the cords which held my great trunk to the deck. I also changed my canvas, putting by the light dresses I had lately worn, and taking out warmer clothing.

We soon had reason to see the expediency of these preparations, for after running a few hundred miles more to the south-east, which was now our course, we experienced suddenly, in the night, a very violent storm. I was awakened from my sleep by an unusual noise upon deck, and felt the ship pitching and straining very hard, being at the same time very much over on her larboard side. The gunner's mate, who came with a lantern to see that the port opposite my berth was properly secured, said "there was foul weather." Indeed the plunging of the ship, the whistling of the wind through the shrouds, and the bustle upon deck announced a heavy gale.

[1] See *Poor Jack*, Captain Marryat.

I heard the Captain's orders reiterated with impatience to the men in the tops to take in the sails. The ship, however, continued to labour a good deal; the gale was evidently increasing. The rain beat down the steerage, which was also illuminated from one moment to another by vivid flashes of lightning. Suddenly, the Captain came to the top of the companion ladder, not far from the door of my cabin, and putting down the end of his trumpet, called out three times, with a voice louder each time, "All hands upon deck!" "All hands upon deck!!" "All hands upon deck!!!"

This order, limited to urgent occasions, and the impressive tone in which it was delivered, might well inspire some uneasiness; but so insensible was I then of all danger at sea that I felt no alarm. As, however, every person was included in the command, I quitted my cot, hurried on my clothes, and made my way as fast as I could to the ladder, which I found crowded with persons hurrying upon deck. On reaching the top I witnessed such a night as I had never seen before. The violence of the wind seemed irresistible, the rain fell in torrents, and the lightning threatened the masts. All hands, sailors and passengers without distinction, were employed in executing the Captain's commands, the former in going aloft to furl, or reef, or send down the yards, the latter in working upon deck, manning the clue-lines, or halyards, or weather main-brace, to brace the main-yard to the wind; tasks in which I willingly took my part. The active exertions of the sailors succeeded in putting the ship in as safe a position as was possible, as far as respected the sea and wind, but the lightning increased, and became truly terrific. The Captain, seeing this, ordered the chain conductor to be brought from below, and carried to the main-topmast head, which operation, difficult and dangerous as it was "in an hour so rude," and in the intervals of perfect obscurity which succeeded the lightning, the sailors executed. The chain, descending along the rigging, was carried over the ship's side into the

sea. This was the only time I ever saw this expedient resorted to.

The storm continued all night, and the greater part of the following day, but as soon as the ship was put in as safe a situation as possible, the doctor, purser, passengers, and others not wanted any longer upon deck, were allowed to go below to change their wet things, and return to their beds. The Captain in this rough night, as well as on every similar occasion during our voyage round the Cape, displayed great energy and resolution. He walked the deck in the heaviest rain with apparent unconcern, refusing all covering not enjoyed by his officers and crew, and fully sharing their hardships and fatigues. A vigilant, active, hardy, undaunted seaman, he seemed indeed more formed for the bustle and dangers of a storm than for the quieter operations of fair weather.

A few days after we had another opportunity of observing the Captain's presence of mind and activity. Having, while at dinner, where his seat was in the middle of the table, fronting the head of the ship, observed several of the crew run to the side, it struck him that a sailor was overboard. In an instant he seized one of the knives, sprang—somewhat corpulent as he was—across the table, in the midst of the dishes, ran upon the quarterdeck, thence upon the poop, then aft to the stern, and cut away the life-buoy that was there suspended. With equal promptitude he ordered the ship to be brought-to, and the jolly-boat to be lowered and manned with an officer and four men. But, alas! though all this was done with extraordinary quickness, the unfortunate man went down before the boat could reach him, leaving his hat at the spot. As there were many albatrosses about, it was supposed that they had struck him with their immense beaks and made him sink. The loss of one of our number, of our family as it seemed, in such a way affected me much; indeed, it caused a most painful sensation throughout the ship. There seemed to be some reason for thinking that the man's death was

not accidental, some of the crew being of opinion that he had lowered himself down by a rope from the leeward bow. In any case, much credit was due to the Captain for his active and humane endeavours to save the man. The wind was so fresh and the ship going so rapidly through the water when he ordered her to be stopped that there was risk of the upper masts going overboard; and so high was the sea that it was considered dangerous for the boat to go out, and the sixth officer, who was selected to go in her, even showed some hesitation till he again received peremptory orders from the Captain. Indeed, she was so tossed about and apparently so overwhelmed by the waves as she was rowing about in search of the man that much anxiety was felt on board till she returned to us, bringing with her the life-buoy and the sailor's hat. I reached the stern soon after the Captain, and witnessed all this painful spectacle. The man seemed to be so near the buoy that I thought he would be saved; but the roughness of the sea probably prevented his seeing it.

Soon after this distressing event, having been more than two months at sea, we reached the longitude of the Cape, thus accomplishing the first great division of our voyage. Our thoughts and calculations had hitherto been confined to *this* point. We now began to think and talk of *India*, and to calculate our probable arrival at Madras, our first port, where the ship was ordered to stop on her way to Bengal. Since leaving the Bay of Biscay my time had been passed much in the same way: the greater part of the day in studying the Persian language, the evenings upon deck. I also applied part of my time to algebra, to which I was then partial, and to the reading of some of the many books with which my friends had provided me.

We passed the Cape nearly in the latitude of 45°, much too far to the south to be able to see it, the southern extremity being 34° 23′. We kept thus far to the south to get the westerly gales which prevail there, as well as to avoid the easterly current found near the land. Our course was now due east, the ship

being impelled at an extraordinary rate by a continued gale of wind from the west accompanied by a tremendous sea. We had scarcely any sail set but the foresail, or double-reefed foretop sail, with the forestay sail, which, though adding little to the progress of the ship, was useful in keeping her steady and in preventing her *broaching-to*, that is, turning into the *trough*, or hollow of the sea with her side to the wind and waves. This *running before the wind*, as it was called, though it advanced us most rapidly, was on that account not exempt from danger, it being difficult to keep the ship out of the perilous position above mentioned, in which there would be a great chance of her suddenly upsetting. In this rapid course it required four men at the wheel to steer her, and with all their exertion it was impossible to keep her in a straight line. She went *yawing* and rolling from one side to the other, her head varying many points from her true direction, as might be observed by the compass, or by the stars at night. A heavy sea striking her quarter, as she was then lying diagonally across the waves, might bring her head *further* round and place her in the perilous trough so much apprehended. There was also danger of the immense waves which followed us *pooping the ship*—breaking over the stern, tearing away the poop, driving in the stern lights, and sweeping away everything from the upper deck—wheel, boats, spars, and often many of the crew.

But the spectacle which these gales presented was truly sublime. I thought so when it was before me, and my recollection often recurs to it with undiminished interest. The prodigious height and bulk of these waves—the Alps of the marine world—their varied form, the quantity of spray scattered in the air by the force of the wind, the dark sky on which no sun was seen for many days together, nothing but the white albatross screaming in her flight, the dangerous rapidity with which the ship pursued her course, *seeking* these tempestuous regions, turning the elements of destruction to her advantage—all this presented a scene of awful grandeur, indescribably impressive,

and such as is allowed to be peculiar to the storms of the Cape of Good Hope.

After *scudding* thus before the gale for several days and nights, at the rate of nine, ten, and eleven knots an hour, the winds became more moderate, allowing us to set more sail and occasionally to open our ports. One evening, soon after we had experienced this agreeable change, our attention was excited by the singular manner of the two Newfoundland dogs. Some unknown cause seemed to agitate them extremely. They ran about the ship with a degree of restlessness quite unusual, raising their noses and snuffing the wind. This, like every incidental circumstance, caught the Captain's eye, and suspecting at once the cause, he ordered a man to the main-topmast head to look out for land. The man was soon at his post, but his report could not be distinctly heard upon deck, where much curiosity prevailed. The Captain took his trumpet and desired the sailor to "*sing out* louder," when we understood him to say that he saw nothing. He was then ordered to "*take a good look all round*" and come down. The Captain observed, that though no land was visible, he had some reason to think that the dogs were right, since we were not far from Prince Edward's Islands as laid down in his chart, though some navigators doubted their existence.

The idea of being *near land*, particularly land whose position did not seem to be accurately ascertained, produced, as usual, considerable uneasiness on board. The purser, an old seaman, and very respectable man, who had accompanied the Captain in all his voyages and was much attached to him, evinced particular anxiety; and the night approaching and the ship making much way, he at length came to the friendly resolution of entreating the Captain to alter his course, or at least to shorten sail till morning. This well-meant and judicious counsel instantly gave great offence to the Captain, whose imperious and impetuous temper could neither adopt nor excuse any suggestion respecting the ship. He addressed the old man in very harsh and im-

proper terms, paced the quarterdeck in much ill-humour, and neither took in sail nor altered his course. We saw nothing; but there was a general impression that land was not far off. A look-out was accordingly kept, and but for the good old purser's friendly hint, it was probable that the Captain, who was not disposed to omit any proper measure, *when left to himself*, would have adopted other precautions.

The conduct of the dogs, which had led to so much uneasiness and trouble, gave rise to some interesting stories, from which it appeared that instances had occurred in which these animals had discovered land at a great distance and even where it was not previously known to be, thus preventing, probably, fatal accidents.

The remainder of the voyage presented no incident of novelty or importance. Some outward-bound Indiamen, particularly such as were destined for Bombay, sloped off to the north-east after passing the Cape, shaping their course between the coast of Africa and the island of Madagascar, called the Mozambique Channel. It was by this channel that Vasco da Gama, after he had, with an intrepidity which they alone who have followed him through these seas can duly appreciate, cleared the Cape of Storms, as he called it—*el cabo de las tempestades*—pursued his adventurous course to India, keeping along the African coast; and thus, it is singular, leaving Madagascar to be discovered by his countryman, Tristan da Cunha, eight years after. In consequence of some accidents which have happened of late, particularly the total loss of the *Grosvenor*, Indiaman, and, nearly at the time of my voyage, the shipwreck of the *Winterton* on the island of Madagascar, this passage has been almost entirely abandoned.

Having passed Madagascar and the isles of France and Bourbon, a serener sky, a more genial temperature, and smoother water announced our arrival at that spot in the Indian seas, where,

> To them who sail
> Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
> Mosambic, oft at sea north-east winds blow
> Sabean odours from the spicy shore
> Of Araby the bless'd; with such delay
> Well pleas'd, they slack their course, and many a league,
> Cheer'd with the grateful smell, old Ocean smiles.

Although a diagonal line to the Bay of Bengal would now have traced a shorter course, we continued to the east, with very little northern variation, for nearly 1500 miles farther, when we were not far from the two small islands called St. Paul and Amsterdam, and not more than 1000 miles from the western coast of New Holland. We thus ran down our longitude in a southern parallel, for the sake of preserving, as long as possible, a westerly wind, and of avoiding the calms of the tropical latitudes. The albatross had not followed us beyond the gales of the Cape, but we saw numerous shoals of porpoises of a large size. They seemed to be always going with the ship, though at some distance from her, and in a line parallel to her course. Sometimes, however, they came under the bows, keeping just before us, without apparent exertion, although we might be going at the rate of seven or eight knots an hour. The sailors endeavoured to strike them with their harpoons, but I never saw but one taken. It was an ugly monster, looking almost as like a pig without legs as a fish. There was only a small part of it that the sailors eat—I believe the liver. Some bonitos also, a fish about two feet long, came under the bowsprit, and were occasionally harpooned.

Arrived nearly as far as the longitude of Calcutta, we steered once more towards the equator, and passing the southern tropic, experienced the same incidents as when advancing towards the line in the Atlantic Ocean. The winds became light, with occasional calms, and great heat. Sharks of a great size again came about us. In another fortnight we re-entered the northern hemisphere. We now continued our course in the direction of the island of Ceylon, the Taprobane of the ancients, distant

about 400 miles, and in a few days saw the Friar's Hood, a high rounded point, apparently not distant from the eastern shore. This was the first land we saw since leaving Trinidad. The sight of it was very satisfactory to the Captain, enabling him to rectify and establish his reckoning previously to arriving upon the Coromandel coast.

This island is about 300 miles in length, by 100 in breadth. The interior is covered with mountains in which elephants of a small race are said to be numerous. Trincomalee, which we passed, is considered the best port in India. It belonged to the Danes. Under the native princes, Candy, situated nearly in the centre of the island, was the capital, but the conquests of European nations—the Portuguese, Dutch, and English—have transferred the seat of government to Colombo, on the south-west coast, a position more favourable to external commerce. Christianity is said to have been preached in this island by the disciples of St. Thomas. Between it and the continent is a reef of rocks called Adam's Bridge, to which various traditions are attached, both European and Indian. In the same part is the Bay of Condatchy, so celebrated for its pearl fishing, the most valuable, it is said, that exists. The divers are trained from their early youth, and are said to be able to remain five or six minutes under water. They descend with nets suspended round their necks, into which they put the pearl oysters, pulling a string when they desire to be raised. They dive thus fifty to sixty times in the course of the morning. Numbers of them are said to be taken off by sharks. If such be the fact, and it probably is, there seems to be great cruelty on the part of the authority which employs these poor people, or allows them to be employed in such an occupation. Pearls, cinnamon, and ebony are the chief articles of exportation.

Having at length entered the Bay of Bengal, we inclined a little to the west, and in a few days more, in the afternoon of the 30th July, joy spread through the ship when "Land, land on the larboard bow" was proclaimed by the sailor at the main-

topmast head; and shortly after that memorable moment of my life arrived when I saw India for the first time. My impressions at that instant were such as I cannot describe, though they are still fresh in my memory. Nor shall I forget the feelings of curiosity and delight with which, as the ship advanced, I gazed upon the long extent of Indian shore, fringed with a line of lofty palm trees:

> Cedar and pine, and fir, and branching palm.

It was an enchanting sight at which the length and inconveniences of the voyage were at once forgotten or remembered without regret.

> Cosi di naviganti audace stuolo
> Che mova a ricercar estranio lido,
> E in mar dubbioso e sotto ignoto polo
> Provi l' onde fallaci e 'l vento infido;
> S' alfin discopre il desiato suolo
> Il saluta da lunge il lieto grido,
> E l' uno all' altro il mostra, e instanto oblia
> La noja e 'l mal della passata via.[1]

The part of the coast which we first made was a few miles to the south of Pondicherry, a French settlement which we passed soon after. It was here that began the influence of the French in India, in 1749, which ended in 1761 by the capture of the fort by the English, under the command of Colonel Coote. It was restored to the French at the peace, 1763, was again taken from them in 1778, and once more restored at the conclusion of the American War in 1783. During the night we followed the line of the coast at a greater distance.

On the evening of the next day, the 31st July, the anchor, which had remained on the ship's bow since it was heaved in

[1] If they who leave their native land,
To sail in quest of India's strand,
All dangers, and long dulness o'er,
At length behold the far-sought shore;
With ecstasy the impatient crew
Descry it to each other's view:
Then all unite in joy, and cast
Oblivion o'er their sufferings past.

the Downs, was let go a few miles to the south of Madras Roads. The next morning we weighed and stood in, the Captain having observed with his glass that a certain flag was hoisted which intimated that we might approach the coast with safety; for at some seasons, and particularly during the changes of the monsoon, or periodical wind, which blows for six months up and six months down the bay, this straight open shore is extremely dangerous, and then the flag is not hoisted.

The ship had scarcely anchored before I saw for the first time a native of the country. He came paddling towards us on a katamaran, a small raft composed of three pieces of wood of about five feet long tied together, the middle piece somewhat lower than the other two, forming a sort of keel beneath, and above a hollow for the man to sit in. The appearance of this man at a distance, when, no support being visible, he almost seemed to be walking in the sea, was extremely curious. Having arrived alongside by aid of a short paddle which he used first on one side of his little raft and then on the other, a rope was thrown to him, when he nimbly mounted the ship's side and came upon deck, saluting us in the Indian manner by lifting his right hand to his forehead. All his covering consisted of a cloth round his middle, and a small cap made of leaves or grass, but which fitted so closely that in a fold or sort of false bottom it contained he was able to carry a few letters perfectly dry, although completely covered by the waves in passing through the surf. He delivered some of his despatches to the Captain and officers. They consisted apparently of applications from native merchants and agents desiring to be employed in the business of the ship. Other boats soon surrounded us, bringing fruits, fish, and vegetables for sale; all differing from the productions of Europe. One boat of a superior description brought some natives of a higher order, handsomely dressed in white robes of muslin with turbans on their heads. I was greatly struck with the dignified and graceful manners of these most respectable-looking men. They

were, I was informed, dobashes or merchants who came to make proposals for buying the captain's or officers' private cargo or investment; some on their own account, some on account of the European houses of business at Madras.

The fort having returned the salute the *Ponsborne* had fired on coming to anchor, the purser engaged one of the boats that were alongside to take him ashore with the despatches he had for the Madras Government. When we left England, war subsisted between the British Government in India and Tippoo Saib, Sovereign of Mysore, and caused considerable uneasiness at the India House. It was, therefore, with much pleasure that we heard from the natives who boarded us that peace had been restored, and that Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General of India, having returned from before Seringapatam, Tippoo's capital, had proceeded to Bengal.

Early in the afternoon of this day a katamaran came on board, and taking off his little cap, drew from it a note which he delivered to the Captain, who, to my surprise, handed it to me. I found it was from Mr. George Parry, son of my good friend and benefactor, Mr. Thomas Parry, the East India Director, who had given me my appointment to India. Mr. George Parry having heard that I was coming to India in the *Ponsborne*, had not lost a moment after he knew of the arrival of that ship to send me a most kind invitation to stay at his house during the time I might be detained at Madras. I lost no time in accepting an offer so welcome, and soon had an opportunity of leaving the ship in one of the country boats which had been engaged to take some of the passengers.

These boats are large, deep, and pointed at both ends. Their planks being sewed together, and not nailed, they are pliant in some degree, and yielding, a quality indispensable to their being able to pass through the three lines of tremendous waves which break upon the Coromandel shore, and which would overwhelm a *stiff* European boat of greater strength. The boatmen, about ten in number, began to sing a peculiar song as soon as we came

near the external range of breakers, accelerating or retarding the measure, according as the particular operation to be performed required more or less celerity. Thus, having begun slowly, they sang faster and faster, and louder and louder, on the approach of each of the immense waves, and united in a general and hurried chorus, crying "Yelly, yelly, yelly"—"yelly, yelly, yelly," as the sea raised the boat and dashed it forwards. Three such manœuvres, executed with great judgment and skill, took us within the third and last line of surf; and here the water was not much agitated till we reached the shore, upon which there were again some high breakers, which often curl over the stern of the boat while its prow is raised upon the beach. We expected this usual wetting, but escaped it, there being several natives on the shore who surrounded the boat as soon as it came within their reach and dragged it quickly beyond the range of the last wave. There are times, however, when the surf upon this coast is not passable without danger, and even when it is quite impassable. It is not surprising therefore that the number of lives lost before Madras should be considerable. Some of our boatmen wore medals which had been bestowed for their having saved the lives of persons. But nothing manifested more the violence and danger of the surf than the fact which I witnessed, that the large long boats and pinnaces of Indiamen remained beyond its influence, not daring to venture into it, but putting their passengers or goods into the *country boats*, as the boats of the natives were called.

Upon landing, I walked towards the water gate of the fort, not more than fifty yards from the sea, and passing through it, came to an open space between the water and inner wall. Here I stopped to look at a number of natives assembled together. Some of them seemed to be attracted to the spot by curiosity to see the passengers as they landed; others to be engaged in business. Nearly in the middle of these numerous groups was a carriage of singular appearance. In its form it seemed to be an imitation of an ancient English chariot, but the pair of slight

long-tailed horses attached to it was quite Indian, and an Indian, in a long white dress which descended to his feet, and a turban of great circumference, sat most erect upon the box. Presently a European got into this vehicle, when the capering little horses drew it off at a quick pace; a second Indian, in a white robe and turban, standing behind, and two others, similarly dressed, running by the side of the horses. There was something singularly theatrical in the whole character and movement of this Asiatic equipage.

Here, too, for the first time, I saw palanquins of various forms and degrees of elegance moving about in different directions, the natives, whom I was surprised to see carrying them with such agility, uttering a kind of song, apparently to give uniformity to their step, and calling out to the persons before them to make way. The slight but elegant and well-proportioned forms of the natives, their picturesque dresses, their quiet and graceful manner, their salaams, varying according to the degree of acquaintance or difference of rank subsisting between the parties; the palanquins, the immense chattahs—large painted umbrellas, six or eight feet long, carried by servants over the heads or by the side of the palanquins of their masters, to keep off the sun,—such were the objects of this scene, so full of novelty, interest, and amusement. Having remained to observe it for some minutes, I procured a native to show me Mr. Parry's house. He took me through the inner gate of the fort, and by some low white buildings to a large enclosed square, having low houses or rooms on three sides, and on the fourth a large building, which I afterwards found was the council-house, where the business of the Government was transacted. At the south-west angle of this square was Mr. Parry's house, or rather the apartment he occupied when he came into the fort to attend his office in the council-house, for, like most of the English gentlemen, he lived in the country, about four miles from Madras. Mr. Parry not being at his rooms, but expected there soon, I walked about on the shady side of the square, and then went and sat down

under a small tree not far from Mr. Parry's steps, where I could see the natives pass to and from the square by a large gateway.

Here, while ruminating upon the sights which that eventful day had discovered to me, my attention was called to an occurence which, however trifling, made some impression upon my mind at the time. A *crow* flying over the opposite buildings of the square seemed to direct its course towards me, and in fact, without being disconcerted by my presence, came to the tree under which I was sitting, and perched upon a branch just over me, looking at me for some time without any symptom of fear. There was something in the unlooked-for appearance of the bird of old acquaintance, and in its familiar manner, which struck me amidst the new objects which surrounded me. I did not expect that a *crow* would be the first bird to greet me, as this seemed to do, on my arrival in India. A vulture or pelican would have surprised me less.

After I had remained under the tree about half an hour Mr. Parry arrived, and received me in the kindest manner. As soon as the sun was nearly down he walked with me to the house, not far distant, of his relation, Mr. Thomas Oakes, who had formerly known my family in England, and who also gave me a most friendly reception, ordering a room and bed to be prepared for me. Here then I slept, and had the first specimen of the luxurious or effeminate ways of an Indian life, some of the servants who were ordered to attend upon me laying hold of my sleeves to pull off my coat, while others unbuttoned my knees, and in spite of all my resistance began to pull off my stockings ; when others brought a large bright brass vessel and washed my feet, pouring cold water upon them from black porous jars. The room was very lofty. The floor was covered with a fine mat, the walls with a fine shining plaster, without any ornament of pictures or glasses. The furniture was extremely simple, the chairs and sofa having merely cane bottoms, without cushions or covering of any kind, nor were there curtains to the spacious lofty windows, which moreover were not glazed, but consisted

of movable green blinds, opening as folding doors from top to bottom. This simplicity which I observed in all the houses was not with any view to economy, for there was no appearance of *that*, but was suited to the climate, promoting coolness, and preventing the accumulation of dust and insects, of mosquitoes particularly, of which I this first evening began to feel the tormenting annoyance, and lizards, of which I saw several running up and down the smooth walls of my chamber with extraordinary swiftness. I watched their motions as my attendants undressed me, but as they did not notice them, or looked at them with unconcern, I concluded they were harmless.

A traveller in a new country observes everything with interest, but of course the objects most interesting to him are the inhabitants. Even in these Indians of inferior station, so assiduously employed about my person, there was much to notice. They differed of course from the inhabitants of Europe, but scarcely less from those which I expected to see in India. I did not, indeed, expect to find a resemblance to the grotesque representations which I had seen on the London stage; but neither was I prepared for such a total absence of all barbarity and coarseness, for complexions which had nothing repulsive, for features and limbs as delicate as those of women, and manners as gentle. The dress of these men consisted principally of turbans, scarfs, and robes, all beautifully white, but varying in their disposition, according to their caste or personal rank amongst themselves, or to the nature of their employment as superior or subordinate. Having undressed me and washed my feet, I expected my release, when the chief of the party proceeded to replace the habiliments of which he and his assistants had deprived me by slipping on me a pair of large loose trousers made of the fine fabric of Madras, called long-cloth. They were very thin and light, and descended to my feet, being tied round my waist by an elegant silk band made of delicate network, the long ends, which hung down before me, terminating with handsome tassels ingeniously worked with golden thread.

My bed partook of the general simplicity and convenience, and suitableness to the climate. It consisted of a hard mattress, covered with a sheet, and another folded at the bottom, that I might draw over me if I pleased. It stood in four small vessels of water, that ants and other insects might not crawl up the posts, and was surrounded by mosquito curtains, or rather by *one* curtain which encircled it all round, for there was no opening at the sides, two men lifting it up at the bottom to let me in, flapping their cloths at the same time to drive away the mosquitoes, and putting it down quickly as soon as I had crept into my cage. As the weather was too hot for me to make use of the upper sheet, I found the convenience of the light drawers, and slept, as indeed was the general custom, in a similar dress ever afterwards.

After an excellent night's rest the same attendance was ready for me at a very early hour in the morning; for at the break of day one of the guns of the fort fired, and this, it appeared, was the signal for the greater part of the European population to rise, and take a ride on horseback, or some other exercise, till the sun was visible a little above the horizon, when it was customary to return home, wash with cool water, perhaps put on other things, if in the hot weather, and sit down to breakfast.

At this meal the first morning I was surprised to see fried fish, in addition to the tea and coffee, and some plates containing, I thought, a sort of sausage, until it was recommended to me as a pleasant fruit, called the plantain.

After dinner to-day some of the celebrated jugglers were sent for, for my amusement, and much surprised me by their extraordinary dexterity. One of them threw a heavy stone nearly as high as the ceiling, and then stepping under it, caught it, without seeing it fall, on the back of his neck, where it lodged. It was however an unpleasant exhibition, as the man must have been seriously injured had the stone fallen upon his head, as seemed very possible. A prettier trick followed. Some

powder being sprinkled upon the bare arm of one of the performers instantly assumed another brilliant colour. One man supported a small dome or cupola upon several sticks, about fourteen inches long, converging to his chin, removing them one after another till two alone were left, upon which the dome remained balanced. Another introduced a blunted sword, eighteen inches long, down his throat. There certainly was no deception in this performance, which was indeed attended with pain, or inconvenience at least, for the man showed unequivocal symptoms of distress, and was obliged to withdraw the instrument after a few seconds. He could not speak while the sword was in his throat, but put his finger to the pit of his stomach, to indicate that the point was there. The exhibition of these and numerous other tricks concluded by my having a few of the coins of the country put into my hand, and being desired to squeeze them hard, which I did, until the head of a snake forced itself between my fingers, to the great amusement of the company.

The following day I moved to Mr. Parry's country-house. It was a flat-roofed building of moderate size, consisting of two or three small rooms on each side of a dining-hall, the whole raised about four feet above the ground, and approached by a flight of steps to the verandah before the hall. The situation was solitary, no other European habitation being in sight; but the many large trees which were near it, whose new and rich foliage I much admired, rendered it an agreeable residence, and a grateful retreat to Mr. Parry after the business and heat of the day. He went to his office in the fort every morning, and returned about five in the afternoon, and such nearly was the routine of all the European inhabitants of the Choultry Plain. I frequently accompanied Mr. Parry in the morning, each of us in a palanquin, and as we approached a bridge, leading over a small stream a short distance from the fort, it was a pleasing sight to see the number of palanquins, European and native, which converged across the plain to the same point, each surrounded by a picturesque group of attendants.

At a short distance in front of Mr. Parry's house was a small garden, resembling an English kitchen garden, many of its productions being English, such as cabbages, carrots, and potatoes. The latter were very indifferent. But the thing in this garden that I thought most curious was the machine for raising water. It consisted of a long beam having a heavy stone as a weight at one end, and a bucket attached to a rope at the other, balanced across the top of a very high post, or trunk of a cocoa-nut tree, placed a few feet from a well.

A black man was placed upon the transversal beam, at the point where it rested upon the perpendicular one, and, supported on one side by a light bamboo rail, depressed the bucket into the well by walking a few steps forward, and raised it again, full of water, by returning as far as was necessary towards the extremity charged with the stone. When this end was at the lowest point of depression, and the water emptied into the trough placed to receive it, the beam on which the man stood became almost perpendicular, and it required considerable effort for him, although aided by pieces of wood nailed as steps across the beam, to regain the centre and depress the other end. The window of my room looking towards the garden, I saw this poor man walking backwards and forwards in the sun for many hours together, and sincerely pitied his oppressive task.

I went one morning to breakfast with Dr. Anderson, the celebrated chief botanist of Madras, who had charge of the Company's botanical garden, and was no less distinguished for his active philanthropy than for his science. He was an elderly man, and somewhat infirm, but cheerful and unreserved. Besides a very polite reception, he gave me a very good breakfast in his official residence, pleasantly situated in the middle of the garden, and when it was over desired his deputy to show me everything. I spent some time in this delightful "wilderness of sweets," wandering

> Through groves of myrrh
> And flowering odours;

for there, too, were numberless aromatic trees, shrubs, and

flowers, the productions not only of the interior of the peninsula, but of Ceylon, of the islands in the Straits of Malacca, and of China. Amongst the fruits were the great and refreshing pummel-rose, something like an orange in its conformation and flavour, but larger than a melon, the strong jack-fruit, the delicate papaw, the luscious custard-apple, the delicious and abundant mangoe in its choicest varieties, the Chinese leechee, and the loquat, another fruit of China, grateful to the eye and taste. All these were quite new to me, and the doctor allowed me to appreciate their excellence, for in this paradise there seemed to be no forbidden fruit.

Madras did not exactly correspond with the ideas I had formed of it, there being no *city* nor *town* of that name, but only the fort already mentioned, called Fort St. George, a very extensive and strong fortress, very near the sea, and a large town a mile farther to the north, called the black town, from its being originally occupied almost entirely by natives, the English in the early periods of their settlement living within the walls of their fort, though afterwards, as their power and security increased, extending themselves in detached houses over the wide sandy plain to the west, called the Choultry Plain. Here the more respectable part of the European population, such particularly as was engaged with the Company's affairs, civil or military, resided. Their houses I thought very handsome, and their situation, surrounded by trees and gardens, extremely pleasant. They seldom exceeded one storey in height, and often, as in Mr. Parry's, had the ground floor alone. Their flat roofs, surrounded by a light colonnade, and the beautiful shining plaster which covered the lofty pillars of the spacious verandahs, gave to these elegant villas a delightful appearance.

It was near one of the great roads branching across the plain from the bridge in front of the fort that the Governor, Sir Charles Oakley, lived; but all the offices of Government, as well as the counting-houses, stores, warehouses, etc., of the European merchants were in the fort.

The first time I went out of the fort, and passed along the edge of the wide but shallow stream which separates it from the plain, I saw a native fishing with a cast-net with extraordinary dexterity. He was walking up to his knees in the water, with his white net carefully folded upon his left shoulder. When about to make a cast he stopped, turned towards the stream, and without apparent effort covered an extent of surface that surprised me, for the extreme delicacy of the net had concealed its unusual dimensions before it was unfolded. No casts could be more true and elegant than those which were repeated, as he advanced, by this simple Indian fisherman.

I found the inhabitants of the plain in high spirits at the successful conclusion of the war, for their defenceless position beyond the reach of the guns of the fort subjected them to incursions by the cavalry of Tippoo, a much dreaded enemy, whose rapid approach from a distant point afforded no time for resistance or retreat. Hyder Ally, Tippoo's father, twice approached Madras not many years before.

Amongst the principal persons of the settlement to whom I was introduced was Colonel Close, who had accompanied Lord Cornwallis throughout the late war, and was considered one of his most influential and able advisers. He was esteemed the best Persian scholar at Madras, and had the goodness to express his satisfaction with the little progress I had been able to make in that language during the voyage. The events of the war just concluded were the common subject of conversation at this period, and the remarks and relations of Colonel Close and other officers engaged in these proceedings interested me extremely.

After the important capture of Bangalore, one of the principal fortresses in Tippoo's country, and of numerous droogs, forts situated upon the summits of hills, often of a conical form, the British army reached the vicinity of Seringapatam early in the preceding year, 1791. Lord Cornwallis hoped to be able to possess himself of Tippoo's capital, and terminate the war then; but the state of the army, reduced by the fatigues of a most

difficult march, and by the heat of the climate, the approach of the rainy season, and above all the impossibility of ensuring an adequate supply of provisions, discovered the painful necessity of falling back to Bangalore. Here the army remained till September, when military operations were recommenced by an attack on the two celebrated forts, Nundy-droog and Severn-droog. The former is situated upon a hill 1700 feet high, perfectly inaccessible, excepting on one side, which was defended by cannon of large calibre. Some years before, when occupied by the Mahrattahs, this fort had resisted the attacks of Hyder Ally during three years. After great exertions, in which the Bengal Artillery was much distinguished, it was taken by assault.

Severn-droog is described as a mountain of rock of many miles in circumference. The upper part of its lofty summit presented a perpendicular face on every side, defended further by walls and cannon. Its strength was described to me by an artillery officer of the besieging corps, who said there was difficulty in pointing the guns with effect on account of the great elevation of the walls above the ground of attack. It was, however, taken by assault after a siege of short duration. These preliminary operations, the object of which apparently was to remove the enemy from the rear, and preserve a communication with the Carnatic, being concluded, and the supplies of grain which had been collected in the Company's territories being arrived, the main army, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, again marched towards Seringapatam, and having defeated Tippoo in a general night attack upon his positions before his capital immediately began its siege. When the trenches had been carried to within 600 yards of the walls, Tippoo sued for peace; and after various difficulties and delays the conditions were signed on the 23rd February of the present year, 1792. By these stipulations, sufficiently circumspect and rigorous as they appeared to me, though I now heard them rather reproached for their excessive moderation, Tippoo ceded half his dominions

to the British and their allies (the Nizam and the Mahrattahs), engaged to pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees (three millions and a half sterling) in different instalments, and to deliver up his two eldest sons as hostages for his execution of these conditions.

Tippoo showed great unwillingness to fix a day for the surrender of his sons.[1] When at length this was named, Lord Cornwallis omitted no measure calculated to diminish the distress both of the Sultan and of the Princes. He instructed the vaqueels, who had conducted the negotiation, to inform Tippoo that he intended to pay a visit to his sons as soon as they should reach the tents provided for them. The Sultan, affected by this kindness of the Commander-in-chief, signified his wish that his sons should go at once to his lordship's tent, and as a mark of his entire confidence in his lordship's honour, be delivered into his hands.

On the 26th February the two Princes left the palace of their father to proceed to the headquarters of the British army. A great part of the population of Seringapatam and the Sultan himself were upon the ramparts. The Princes were saluted by the fort on their leaving it, and by the British artillery on their reaching the encampment, where part of the troops were under arms to receive them. They were seated on a silver howdah upon an elephant richly clothed. Their father's vaqueels followed upon other elephants. The officers of the palace and a considerable number of other persons, horse and foot, also attended them. Lord Cornwallis, surrounded by his staff (Colonel Ross, Colonel Close, Colonel Skelly, Colonel Haldane, Colonel Scott, Colonel Doveton, Colonel Apsley, Colonel Kyd, Dr. Laird, Mr. Cherry,[2] etc.), met them at the entrance of his principal tent,

[1] It has always appeared to me that there were two occasions on which Tippoo, with all his faults, appears in a favourable point of view; on one amiable, great on the other. The first is, where he thus with reluctance and sorrow parts with his sons; the second, where some few years subsequently he fought and died in the breach in defence of his capital. Compare this end of the Asiatic with the "impotent conclusion" of the European tyrant.

[2] All of these I knew.

and after embracing them in the most affectionate manner, led them in, one in each hand. Their dress was most splendid and costly, being ornamented with a profusion of pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones. After remaining a short time with his lordship, receiving the honours of princely guests, they were consigned to the friendly care, rather than to the custody, of Colonel Doveton, a distinguished officer of the Madras army, and conducted to their quarters, where all the conveniences that a camp could afford were placed at their disposal. With this extraordinary and unprecedented event may be said to have concluded the Mysore war. For the camp before Seringapatam now broke up, the victorious army retraced its steps across the elevated level of the Mysore country, descended the famous defiles called the Ghauts, and re-entered the plains of the Carnatic, when the Bengal and Madras divisions separated, each proceeding to its respective presidency. The princes accompanied Lord Cornwallis to Madras.

4th August.—This forenoon, wishing to obtain some information respecting the sailing of the *Ponsborne* for Bengal, I went to Fort St. George. I always had much pleasure in passing in my palanquin over the well-constructed drawbridges, and through the long subterraneous passages of this fort. My bearers ran with more than usual good-humour and agility over these smooth ways, while the deep arches of the noble gateways, and the vaulted roofs under which we passed, resounded with their cheerful and cheering song. On these occasions I had an opportunity of observing the construction of this fine fortress, the great extent and massive strength of its defences, and the symmetry and order of its interior arrangement. I saw several guns upon the walls, both towards the sea and plain, and was told that they were capable of receiving upwards of 500. The works had been much improved of late years, particularly since the capture of the fort by the French under General Bourdonnaye in 1744.

The extension and improvement of the settlement beyond

the walls appeared to have been equally great. The black town, an inconsiderable native village not many years previous, had now acquired the extent and population of a city, it being more than three miles in length, and containing above 300,000 inhabitants, no longer natives alone, but English, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Armenians.

Walking through the streets of this town one afternoon, followed by my palanquin, I perceived an Armenian printing-office. My curiosity leading me into it, the chief or superintendent received me very civilly, and showed me his little establishment, containing two presses, one of which was at work. He put into my hand some books he had printed. They contained parts of the Scripture, prayers, and religious discourses for the use probably of the Armenian Church established in the town. He was so obliging on my coming away as to give me a printed sheet as a specimen of his work.

But the late extension and improvement of this presidency were perhaps most visible on the Choultry Plain, in the number and elegance of the villas which covered this, and in the excellence of the roads which led to it. These villas, formerly very limited, both as to number and convenience, now amounted to more than 200, remarkable for their beauty and taste. It seemed probable that the increased security resulting from the favourable issue of the late war would give a further impulse to the increase and splendour of these habitations.

I had concluded that the country around Madras belonged to the East India Company, but found that this was not the case. This country, called the Carnatic, belonged to a nabob, an independent prince, as far, at least, as a native sovereign could be considered independent who lived under the muzzles of the Company's guns. The Carnatic, thus circumstanced, seemed to be the esplanade of Fort St. George. I was not, therefore, surprised to hear that the Company had long coveted the administration of the Nabob's possessions, but without having been able to obtain their cession by amicable means, and

their justice and moderation had hitherto prevented their having recourse to any other. How long these virtues might prove a barrier between the Company's strength and the Nabob's weakness, the history of human nature from the time that the wolf and lamb met at the same stream seemed to make very uncertain. A slight transgression or unguarded imprudence on the part of the Nabob, the perfidious insinuation of an enemy, flattering the known wishes of the Company, might be fatal to the existence of the Carnatic as an independent state.[1]

8th August.—Colonel Doveton having very obligingly offered to introduce me to the young Princes, the Captain of the *Ponsborne* expressed a wish to accompany me. On our entering their rooms they seemed quite glad to see us, asked us, through Colonel Doveton, to sit down, inquired whether we had breakfasted, our names, and many other questions. There is not much difference in their size. The youngest, named Mirza, is the most pleasing. He is fair, with large, handsome eyes. He was very cheerful and polite; talked a great deal to us, and very sensibly, though not eight years of age. When he heard that we should see Lord Cornwallis, he desired, with tears in his eyes, to be remembered to him. "Tell Lord Cornwallis that he is always with me." Mr. Smart, a miniature painter, who told me to my surprise that he had taken my mother's picture, was taking their likenesses. They are to be sent, when finished, to Tippoo Saib; for Lord Cornwallis having asked him if he would like to have his sons' pictures, "Yes," said he, "provided they be accompanied by Lord Cornwallis's."

The Princes gave us some beetel-nut and some very fine attar of roses. They have a charming house inside the fort, and

[1] Subsequently the Indian Government *did* take possession of the Nabob's country on the plea of having discovered amongst the archives of Seringapatam traces of a connivance between the *father* of the reigning prince and Tippoo Saib. The whole of this proceeding presents, I regret to say, one of the most painful transactions of our Indian history.

The Nabob had a magnificent palace a few miles from Madras, to which, some years after, he invited me to a splendid entertainment, to meet Admiral Rainier, Lord Bentinck, and Sir Arthur Wellesley.

everything in great style. They have their own servants, and some of Tippoo's vaqueels, very venerable old men. A handsome stage has been built for them that they may see the ships in the roads.

I had now been ashore eight days, receiving the most hospitable attentions from Mr. George Parry and his friends, and much satisfaction from this first specimen of an Indian life, when blue peter once more called me to the narrow limits of my cabin.

The monsoon, though near its change, being still favourable, a few days took us to the entrance of the small gulf called Balasore Roads, situated at the north-west angle of the Bay of Bengal, and leading to the mouth of the Ganges, or, strictly speaking, of the Hoogley branch of that river.

An old seaman does not consider his voyage over till his ship is safe in port; but *I* concluded that ours was now terminated. I soon found, however, that the most dangerous part of it was before us, the mouth of the Ganges being obstructed, and rendered extremely intricate by numerous sands and shoals which run a considerable distance into the sea. As we approached the angle of the bay, where these dangers begin, the wind became variable and squally, and the weather altogether very threatening. On each side of us was a dangerous shore, and the *sandheads*, as they are called, were before us. A current, or tide, was always running with great rapidity. In case of foul weather in the night, without a pilot on board, our situation might become very critical. We were too, it appeared, just at the worst season for this part of our voyage, it being "the breaking up," as it was termed, of the southerly monsoon, when amidst an apparent conflict between opposite winds and contending storms, this great periodical current of air, one of the most marvellous and providential phenomena of the globe, shifts to the opposite point of the compass.

Our brave Captain now showed more anxiety than I had

ever seen him discover, even during the worst of the storms we had encountered. Shoals, currents, and *land* are the dread of an experienced seaman, and here we had all these. It so happened, moreover, that both the captain and his principal officers were strangers to this difficult navigation, their voyages having always been to China. He was therefore very impatient to fall in with a pilot, and loudly declared his disappointment and displeasure at not meeting with one so soon as he had expected. To enter the Ganges *without* a pilot was quite impossible for so large a ship, particularly at this season, and was besides contrary to the regulations of the Company's service, as well as to the rules of insurance.

Having stood to the west, and made the coast, about Point Palmiras, as we supposed, and thus verified our situation, we stood off again, sailing towards the usual cruising ground of the pilot vessels. As the evening advanced, the weather became more and more threatening, and the Captain more and more uneasy. A man was kept aloft to look out for a pilot, but could see nothing. The lead was kept going from the main chains, and the depth of water "sung out" at each cast.

The Captain walked up and down the quarterdeck with his telescope in his hand, and expressing his ill-humour in no measured terms; stamping when the sailor in the look-out answered that no sail was in sight, or the leadsman proclaimed a diminished depth of water. At length night closed upon us.

The Captain's displeasure now became extreme. He looked ahead of the ship in the direction of the pilot-ground through his night glass, a telescope contrived for seeing objects almost in the dark.[1] The sailor had descended from the main-topmast head; but the lead was continued to be cast without intermission. We kept on our course under shortened sail, but still, no pilot appearing, doubts began to be entertained of the correctness of our reckoning. The land we had seen might not have been Point Palmiras, or the tides might have set the ship

[1] It is difficult to catch the objects with this glass. They are seen inverted.

out of her supposed direction. The Captain, however, had so much confidence in his calculation that he would not admit any error on his part. His denunciations, therefore, continued to be directed against the pilot. His vociferations were terrific in the darkness and stillness which prevailed; for nothing was heard in the ship but his voice, and the song of the leadsman. His activity, however, seemed to increase with his anger and uneasiness; no precaution to ensure the safety of the ship during the night was omitted. The casts of the lead followed in quicker succession, the anchor was ready to be let go, and all hands were prepared to *put the ship about*, or *bring her to*, upon the word being given. It seemed the most prudent course to put about at once, and stand to the south, in order to get deeper water and more sea-room, and there *lie on and off* till morning. But prudence and caution, or even the rational portions of these, entered less than other good qualities into the character of the Captain. His courage was made of sterner stuff. Rough, bold, resolute, he was rather disposed, in situations of difficulty, to seek safety by overcoming danger than by receding from it.

We accordingly went on, dark as it was, every now and then firing an 18-pounder, and burning lights. At last a light was seen right ahead. More guns were fired, yet no answer was made, and we shortly after saw no light, yet kept a good look-out and went on. It was an hour or two before we saw the light again. We now supposed it was a pilot, and yet did not get nearer, though we had been sailing after it several hours. The Captain was very much vexed with them for leading him, as he said, such a "wild-goose chase," and *swore* he would let go an anchor. However, at last we came up to the ship, which *was* a pilot's. We sailed close to him, when the Captain with his biggest trumpet, instead of hailing him in the usual courteous manner, called him all the names he could think of for not coming on board of us. There was something awful in hearing the Captain with his loud voice swearing at the pilot through

the trumpet in the dark. Everything else was silent as he spoke. Even the pilot seemed frightened, and undoubtedly was astonished. We sent our boat for him, and were all most glad to get him on board, for it was a dangerous place without a pilot acquainted with the currents and sands. The former were so strong against us that though we had plenty of wind we were all the night in getting up with the ship, only a few miles ahead, and which the pilot declared was at anchor all the time.

So far we had a fair wind, and pretty good weather, though threatening to blow, and we expected to reach Diamond Harbour, where the Indiamen lie, in two days; but the next morning the wind changed, and blew strongly against us. However, by tacking about we got on a little. We came to an anchor at night, and the next morning it blew a perfect gale of wind, and there was an immense sea running. I believe nobody on board ever experienced such weather as we now had. We pitched most heavily. The sea came quite over the head of the ship, and even up to the sprit-sail yard. One anchor and cable would not hold us; we therefore veered away another cable, and even then drove so fast towards the sands that we were obliged to let go another anchor. We now had two anchors and three cables out; but even these would not hold the ship. She rode so hard, and pitched so violently and deep that one of our cables, which was quite new, snapt, and we lost the anchor and whole cable. We let go another anchor before the ship had time to drift far, and the gale being fortunately rather abated, the two now held her. We were, however, unable to move from our critical situation, the sands being all round us, and remained here tossing about two days longer, when the wind coming more to the south we made sail, and crossed some very dangerous sands, called the Braces, and steered for the French flats.

All this was a very anxious and painful time to the Captain, who never left the deck. Besides the pilot we had on board,

his vessel, with another pilot on board her, and also a second pilot vessel, which, seeing our distress, had come to our assistance, went before us to sound, and show us the way. We also sounded every minute—a measure of such importance that the pilot had brought his own man and line on board to sound for him. Indeed we went entirely by sounding, and had nothing else to direct us through this most dangerous navigation, for we could see neither the land nor the sky, and the sands were all under water. We saw some buoys, but could not trust to them, as it was probable they had drifted in the gale or moved with the sands themselves, for these are liable to move in such storms, a circumstance which of course adds much to the danger. Our situation would have been desperate without a good pilot. The two vessels which went ahead were also extremely useful, for after every heave of their lead they waved a flag over the stern to tell us the depth of the water.

That night we anchored on the French flats, close to the two vessels which had conducted us, the sea running very high and all of us pitching very heavily. Our guides, the two pilot schooners, were comparatively light and drew but little water, but the *Ponsborne* was a large heavy ship with a cargo on board. As the current was at the time very strong, there was a great strain upon her cable, upon the strength of which our safety mainly depended. It blew dreadfully hard all night, and there was a good deal of anxiety on board. At length the accident so much apprehended took place. At an early hour in the morning we parted from our anchor. We were now in a very dangerous situation, for if we had not been prepared to make sail we should certainly have been upon some of the sands, and then it would have been all over with us. We however made sail *immediately* the cable broke, and happily cleared the sands, and that morning got into the Ganges. The next morning, Friday the 17th, we weighed anchor for the last time, and in the afternoon reached Diamond Harbour after having escaped many dangers.

Our passage from the Downs had been four months and a

half. I felt on this occasion that few moments are more impressive than that in which we enter port after a long voyage. I also felt the thankfulness and gratitude which every humble and reflecting mind must feel on such an occasion, and returned my sincere acknowledgments to the divine Providence which had watched over so many lives in so long a course across the fathomless and pathless deep.

Soon after our arrival a ship with scarcely any sail set came in from sea and passed close to us with extraordinary rapidity, impelled by the violence of the wind and tide. Her destitute and crippled state manifested her extreme distress. I ran to the gunwale and saw her shoot by. Her captain and crew were upon deck, but seemed helpless, for, as we perceived, she had lost her anchors. While looking at her and dreading her fate, there seeming no possibility of bringing her to, we saw her turn suddenly towards the shore, as intending to run against it, but instead of stopping there she sailed, as it were, across the country. She had entered a small nullah that was full nearly to its banks, so that her hull was seen above them. Her appearance as she went winding along, high over the fields, was very singular. Her course became gradually less rapid, and at last we had the satisfaction of seeing it arrested without apparent accident; her masts, which we expected to see overboard, remaining upright over the land. The preservation of this vessel was evidently owing to the intelligence of her pilot, who skilfully ran her into this small creek with which he was acquainted, although it was very little wider than herself.

On Wednesday the 22nd August I left the *Ponsborne* with the Captain and some other passengers for Calcutta, about sixty miles higher up the river. This, as we advanced, became narrower, but still remained a wide and noble stream. The tide being with us and carrying us rapidly along, we proceeded smoothly in the middle of the stream with but little assistance from our oars till the tide turned in the afternoon, when we came-to during the ebb, anchoring our budgerow, as our hand-

some covered boat was called, a few yards from the bank, that she might not be left dry as the water fell. We set off again with the head of the flood, and the next morning passed through Garden Reach, a long reach running east and west a few miles below Calcutta. Handsome villas lined the left or southern bank, and on the opposite shore was the residence of the superintendent of the Company's botanical garden. It was a large *upper-roomed* house not many yards from the river, along the edge of which the garden itself extended. The situation of the elegant garden houses, as the villas on the left bank were called, surrounded by verdant grounds laid out in the English style, with the Ganges flowing before them, covered with boats and shipping, struck me, as it does everybody who sees it for the first time, as singularly delightful. These charming residences announced our approach to the modern capital of the East, and bespoke the wealth and luxury of its inhabitants. Turning suddenly to the north, at the end of this reach, the "City of Palaces," with its lofty detached flat-roofed mansions and the masts of its innumerable shipping, appeared before us on the left bank of the Ganges; and on the same side, in the foreground of this beautiful perspective, were the extensive ramparts of Fort William. Passing this elegant fortress, we had on our right the even, verdant plain, properly the esplanade of the fort, which separates it from the city. A range of magnificent buildings, including the Governor's palace, the council-house, the supreme court-house, the Accountant-General's office, etc., extended eastward from the river, and then turning at a right angle to the south, formed, on two sides, the limit both of the city and plain. Nearly all these buildings were occupied by the civil and military officers of Government, either as their public offices or private residences. They were all white, their roofs invariably flat, surrounded by light colonnades, and their fronts relieved by lofty columns supporting deep verandahs. They were all separated from each other, each having its own small enclosure, in which, at a little

distance from the house, were the kitchen, cellars, storerooms, etc., and a large folding gate and porter's lodge at the entrance.

No part of the city occupied by the *natives* was perceivable, it being higher up the river, as well as more inland, to the east, extending a great way in both directions. Our boat having cleared the esplanade and a part of the city, arrived opposite the old fort, the first military work of the Company in Bengal, and whose diminutive size and inferiority in every respect as compared with Fort William, which we had just passed, strikingly exhibited the subsequent rapid and vast extension of the Company's military power in these countries. It was now entirely dismantled, and its casements appropriated to the reception of the goods of the Company, and the merchandise of the custom-house, the direction of which was within its walls. Upon the custom-house wharf, extending from one end of the fort to the other, I saw immense piles of goods of various sorts, imports and exports. Along the shore in front of the wharf, and to the north as far as I could see, were a great many ships, all manned with native sailors, but commanded principally by English captains, and chiefly belonging either to these captains or to British houses of trade established in Calcutta. These vessels, called "country ships," were employed in the Indian seas exclusively, principally between Bengal, China, and Bombay, never going, nor being allowed to go, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, unless by a specific license from the East India Company, who possessed, by their charter, a monopoly of the trade to Europe. I was told that most of these ships were constructed of teak, a wood more durable for marine purposes than oak, it possessing an oil that prevents the corrosion of the nails and iron bolts—a great advantage, which the oak has not.

I quitted the boat at a spacious sloping ghaut or landing-place, close to the north-west angle of the old fort. The lower part of the slope went some way into the water, and was crowded with natives, men and women, bathing with their clothes, or rather *cloths* on, and which they dexterously con-

trived to change under water, without embarrassment to themselves or the bystanders. Having walked along under the northern wall of the fort, and passed the north-east angle, I came to a large area or square, the middle of which was occupied by an extensive tank surrounded by substantial brick masonry and an exterior palisade, and having a flight of wide steps at each end, east and west. Numbers of natives were descending these steps to fill their water jars and other vessels. Some, instead of jars, had pig-skins slung at their backs, and which, when filled, had rather a ludicrous appearance, exhibiting the form of the animals from which they were taken. The skin being submerged in the water, was filled at a small aperture left unsewed at the end of the neck, and when full this opening was tied up with a piece of leather, which being loosened to the degree necessary, the water spirted out, in a greater or smaller stream, according to the pressure of the man's hand, into the jars of his customers, or the pots of the people who met him in the streets. All this was done, from the filling to the emptying, without unslinging the skin, the carrier merely bearing it forward over his side when discharging the water, much as an organ-player in the street does his organ. I saw several of these people branch off with their singular burthens into the numerous wide streets leading from the square.

Many young women also, with large circular earrings in their ears, and broad bracelets on their wrists, descended and mounted the steps, holding with one hand a jar or pitcher upon the head. Nothing could be more elegant and picturesque than the attitude and whole appearance of these delicate well-formed females, with their light white dress, consisting of one long piece of cloth, which, descending from the head, encircled the waist, and fell in graceful folds nearly to the ankle, not straight, but sloping, leaving one leg more exposed than the other. Strongly did the scene before me recall to my mind the beautiful picture of the *ancient* manners of the East, where the daughter of Bethuel is represented with *her* "large earrings" and "heavy

bracelets" as *she* "went down to the well with her pitcher, and came up again."

At the angle by which I entered the tank square, as the great area was called, stood an obelisk in a neglected ruinous state. As it was only a few yards out of my way, I went up to it. From my very early years few things had filled my mind with more horror than the very name of the Black Hole of Calcutta, although the exact history of its tragic celebrity was unknown to me. With peculiar force was this impression revived, when, on deciphering an almost obliterated inscription, I found that the column which I beheld was the monument which had been erected to the memory of the victims of that horrible massacre. A native who accompanied me pointed to the part of the fort south of the principal gate in which the fatal dungeon itself was situated.

I now continued my way along the north side of the square, having on my right the palisades which surrounded the tank, and on my left a row of handsome houses, extending nearly the whole length of the square, called "the Writers' Buildings." Passing next, down the eastern side of the square, I quitted it at the south-east angle, and after a few streets, very evenly paved with red brick, arrived at the house which the respectable old purser, who had left the ship on her reaching Diamond Harbour, had taken for the captain.

Here I sat down in an outer room, considering what I should do next. Although my father's unremitting zeal had procured me several letters to persons living in Calcutta, there was no one amongst them whom my family knew personally, or to whose house I could go at once. It was necessary therefore that I should establish myself somewhere before I could begin to deliver my letters, and I knew not where to go in the first instance. In any other country the easy and obvious course would be to go to an inn. But I was told that there were no inns in Calcutta, or such alone as were not considered reputable. In this respect therefore it seemed that the City

of Palaces was not a convenient city for a friendless stranger to arrive at.

Whilst occupied with these considerations the great gates of the enclosure opened, and a palanquin, such as I had not seen before, it being upright like a sedan chair, entered, escorted by several servants handsomely dressed with white, flowing tunics and turbans, and bearing large shining badges inscribed with Indian characters upon the long roll of linen which encircled their waist. The palanquin being put down at the edge of the verandah, a respectable-looking old gentleman, dressed in black, with a powdered long-tailed wig, and a large cocked hat in his hand, got out of it, and entered the house, where he was received with a degree of politeness and condescension very different from what I had been accustomed to see on board the ship, and from which it was evident that the Captain had already laid aside the imperious action of the quarterdeck and resumed his shore character, in which, however, some professional consequence was visible, but associated with an air of sincerity and frankness, of resolution and intelligence, that gave a just idea of his many excellent qualities.

Such a reception of the stranger confirming the opinion which his numerous retinue had given me of his importance, I was induced to inquire who he was, when I was told that he was the head of the Bengal marine establishment. After conversing some time with the Captain in the great hall, an order to have his palanquin ready, and the bustle of the servants, announced his departure, when, as he was returning through the room in which I was sitting, some circumstance, I knew not what, directed his attention to me; and coming up to me, he addressed me with singular kindness, asking me how long I had been on shore, what I thought of the appearance of India, what I meant to do, what friends I had in Calcutta? In reply to the last question I said that I had no friends in Calcutta, but that I had some letters of introduction, "and one, sir," I added, "is, I believe, for you." "A letter for me?" said the old gentleman, "and

from whom pray, may it be?" I replied, "From Mr. William Bensley of London." "A letter to me from Mr. Bensley! Come, come, my young friend, you must come with me." He gave orders to his attendants for another palanquin, and this being ready, I at his desire got into it, and accompanied him, much surprised at the situation in which I so suddenly and unexpectedly found myself. We proceeded along at a quick pace, my palanquin by the side of his, his attendants around both.

We entered the great square, with the tank in the middle, and continued along its southern side,—that is, the side opposite to the one on which I had traversed it previously,—and in a few minutes more arrived at the enclosure of a large white flat-roofed mansion standing near the Ganges, a little below the point at which I had landed not two hours before. Upon getting out of my palanquin, which my nimble bearers had carried up the steps and put down at the bottom of the grand staircase, the old gentleman said that that was his house, and *my* future home. Ascending, then, the great staircase, he led me through some rooms of vast dimensions, and leaving me on a sofa in one of them for a minute or two, returned with his lady and daughter and introduced me to them. After many most friendly expressions from them all they held a short consultation together, at the end of which the kind old gentleman conducted me to a magnificent apartment, which he placed entirely at my disposal, desiring me to command freely whatever I wanted. He said that his lady and daughter would procure such servants as I should require, and in a few hours I found myself surrounded by a group of ten men, who respectfully saluted me as their master and desired to receive my orders,—the head man of the party offering me a few pieces of coin upon a folded white cloth as a present; nor could he be satisfied till I accepted it.

This memorable incident attending my first landing in Bengal was as important as unexpected. It was a great and

auspicious event in the outset of my life; it removed at once every difficulty of my situation; it gave me a most comfortable home in a most respectable family; introduced me to the best society in Calcutta; and had a valuable future influence on my success by enabling me to avoid the expenses and embarrassments so frequently attendant upon the first arrival and settlement of a young man in India.

I must therefore ever feel that, of the many friends I have had the good fortune to meet with in my *journey* through life, one of the greatest certainly was Captain Cudbert Thornhill, the oldest European inhabitant of Calcutta; the same gentleman who, being at Judda in the Red Sea when Mr. Bruce the Abyssinian traveller arrived there, under much difficulty, rendered him very essential service,—as acknowledged by Mr. Bruce,—manifesting towards him that same active benevolence for which he was always distinguished.

With the sincerest gratitude and affection shall I ever revere the memory of this most kind and excellent man. I understood that before he knew of my having an introduction to him, my youthful and friendless appearance had disposed him to offer me his protection.

NOTE 1.—Lord Cornwallis

Amongst my numerous other friends I can never forget my obligations to Lord Cornwallis (the Governor-General), and Colonels Ross, Haldane, and Skelly, his lordship's aides-de-camp, Sir William Jones, Sir John Murray, etc., etc.

My notes say:—"I dine *very* often with Lord Cornwallis, and am invited to *all* his entertainments. At his levees he never fails to address me in the kindest manner." Measures of public utility, unambitious and just, and a deportment dignified, without pride or ostentation, had caused his administration to be very popular, and himself much beloved. He was tall and somewhat corpulent. His countenance expressed the benevolence of his disposition. There was something in his manner that reminded me of my father's particular friend, Mr. John Hingeston.[1]

[1] It might be said of Mr. Hingeston, as of Lord Cornwallis, that *he* was especially "blest with plain reason and with sober sense." Let me here ac-

NOTE 2.—Colonel Skelly

It was during this summer (1793) that I had to lament the death of a most gentlemanly, accomplished man, from whom I had received much kindness during my stay in Calcutta — Colonel Skelly, aide-de-camp, as I have said, and particular friend of Lord Cornwallis, under whom he served with much reputation in the war against Tippoo. He particularly distinguished himself by a very gallant defence of the Sultan redoubt, near Seringapatam, when re-attacked by Tippoo, from whom it had been taken a few hours previously, in the general assault of his lines. The Colonel's death was a great shock to Lord Cornwallis.

There was every probability that his talents and family interest (he being related to the Duke of Gordon) would eventually raise him to the post of Commander-in-chief. I had been introduced to this excellent man by Mr. Nathaniel Davison, formerly British Consul at Nice, and of late years tenant to my father in his house at Twickenham, which he covered, during his residence in it, with a beautiful dolichos. My father used to be much pleased with Colonel Skelly's letters to Mr. Davison, and with his admirable sketches of scenes in the Mysore campaign. How much more would he have been pleased with Colonel Skelly himself, whose polished mind and fascinating conversation and manners were singularly congenial with his own.

> *Both* formed by nature happily to steer,
> From grave to gay, from lively to severe ;
> Correct with spirit, eloquent with ease,
> Intent to reason, and polite to please.

Mr. Davison had the Colonel's portrait in the Twickenham house. The amiable Consul has since followed his friend to the grave.

NOTE 3.—Sir William Jones

In the hot season of this year (1794) India deplored the loss of one of the most distinguished men that had ever visited her shores ; and I lost, in that event, one of my kindest friends. Sir William Jones died at Calcutta of the liver complaint, after a short

knowledge my many obligations, in my early days, to this virtuous, unaffected, generous man. Often did I receive the "good he did by stealth," when I was a boy at school. The practice of boys receiving money from any person but their parents I think a very unworthy one, though there was a time when I was far from being of this opinion ; but the custom existing, this sincere and liberal gentleman never shirked it—he was sure to be in the way the last day of the holidays.

illness. His death was deeply lamented by all classes, European and native, and was indeed a public misfortune, interrupting literary labours for which it was scarcely possible to find another individual uniting similar qualifications—such a knowledge of the Asiatic languages, so refined a judgment, and such indefatigable zeal. All his time, public and private, when on the bench as a judge, or when, amidst the Bramins of Nuddea, he "explored the vast extent of ages past," was devoted to the public good. His private hours, at the time of his death, were employed upon a translation of the *Institutes of Menu*, a work as important as curious, being the Justinian code of Hindoo law.

Sir William meant to return to England as soon as the work should be completed, proceeding, it was said, first to China, thence to Bencoolen and Bombay, and so up the Red Sea and overland to Europe. Lady Jones had left India the year before. Sir William Jones was buried at Calcutta, and on his tomb was placed the following epitaph, written by himself :—

Here was deposited
the mortal part of a man
who feared God but not death ;
and maintained independence
but sought not riches ;
who thought none below him
but the base and unjust ;
none above him but the wise and virtuous ;
who loved his parents, kindred, friends, and country ;
and having devoted his life to their service,
and the improvement of his mind,
resigned it calmly,
giving glory to his Creator,
wishing peace on earth
and goodwill to all his creatures,
on the 27th April
in the year of our blessed Redeemer 1794.[1]

[1] Sir William Jones was only forty-eight years of age at the time of his death, having been born in London in the year 1746.

PART II

FROM SANTIPORE TO DEHLI

SANTIPORE *was* a large and flourishing town, two miles from the left bank of the Ganges, sixty miles above Calcutta. It possessed an industrious, peaceful, and happy population of 70,000 inhabitants, entirely Hindoos, and was the centre of a great manufacturing district. The industry of ages had brought its muslins to the highest degree of perfection. They were amongst the choicest productions of India, and were exported in large quantities to Europe. The East India Company consequently had one of their principal factories here, under charge of Edward Fletcher, Esq., whose deputy I was.

This factory and the prosperity of Santipore have since ceased to exist; the calicoes and muslins of India, even for Indian use, having been supplanted by the steam-looms of Manchester.

The rains having set in before the 20th June (1794), and the rivers having been considered open soon after, I had, since the end of that month, been expecting to hear that the Commander-in-chief, whom I was to accompany in his voyage up the Ganges, had left Calcutta. I was, however, informed from time to time that the business of Government still detained His Excellency at the Presidency. At length I heard of his departure, and in the evening of the 17th July a man whom I had upon the look-out returned to say that his boats were coming to for the night, a few miles only below Santipore.

The same evening therefore I took leave of Mr. Fletcher and went on board my budgerow [1] stationed at the ghaut [2] at which I had landed on my first arrival from Calcutta in the preceding year.

I rose early the next morning to make the necessary preparations; had the pegs and shore-ropes loosened, and the sails unfurled, and everything ready for my joining the General on his passing. At the hour of sunrise the ghaut presented the usual spectacle of such a place when within the reach of an extensive Hindoo population. Hundreds of the peaceable inhabitants of Santipore of both sexes and of all ages, of every condition, of every shade of caste, from the expounder of the Shastah to the industrious Tautee,[3] or Ruffagur,[4] had left their homes at the break of day to bathe in the waters of the Ganges. Amongst the crowd were many of my personal acquaintances, who seemed pleased to have this opportunity of repeating their expressions of attachment, and their good wishes for the success of my voyage and my safe return. The servants of my establishment whom I did not mean to take with me, and some of the officers of the cooty,[5] came on board to bid me farewell. Of this number was my mild and amiable teacher, the Bramin Rhadanant. He repeated the regret he had all along expressed at not accompanying me, dwelling upon the duty he should discharge, and the satisfaction he should consequently experience in seeing for once in his life the waters of the "Great River" [6] and the holy city of Casi.[7] The group which surrounded my boat was increased by the relations of my attendants. Many of these expressed a desire to accompany their friends, but the number of such requests made it impossible for

[1] A budgerow is a large pleasure boat, having two spacious rooms (a sitting and a sleeping room) surrounded by venetian blinds. It is contrived for sailing or rowing, having a high mast (for mainsail and topsails) and from twelve to sixteen oars.

[2] Quay.

[3] Weaver of the fine muslins.

[4] Finisher of the fine muslins.

[5] Factory.

[6] The *real* Ganges, of which the Calcutta stream is only a branch.

[7] The sacred name of Benares.

me to comply with them. One of the throng in particular attracted my notice, as well by her youthful appearance as by the apparent fervour of her distress. It was a pretty[1] young woman of about fifteen, who sat near the edge of the water, upon which she gazed with a strong expression of sorrow through the opening in the light muslin which fell from the top of her head and almost covered her face. Upon my inquiring who she was, and what was the cause of her trouble, the young man whom I had engaged as cook made his way through the circle, and approaching me said she was his wife; that having been but recently married her sorrow at their separation was great, but that she would be taken care of by her parents till his return. I said she would apparently be more satisfied under his own care, and that he had better therefore remain at home with her. He replied that he had a great desire to accompany me, but confessed that the principal consideration which had led him to separate himself from his wife so soon after their union was a desire to visit Casi. Perhaps then, I said, the best way would be for your wife also to visit Casi. The poor fellow's countenance brightened at this suggestion. I desired him to make the proposition to his wife, and she, receiving it with great satisfaction, rose from her doleful position and went on board her husband's boat amidst the congratulations of her friends.

18*th July*.—The sun had risen about an hour when I perceived the first boats of the Commander-in-chief's fleet coming round the point of land to the south. Soon after some of the pinnaces and budgerows came successively into view, and amongst the former I observed two fine vessels considerably larger than the rest, and which I concluded to belong to the

[1] This epithet applied to a woman of Bengal will hardly accord with European ideas, and yet in no part of the world perhaps are the features of women more regular and delicate than in India. The young bride here mentioned was an instance of this fact. As to colour, *that* seems to be a matter in which preference is determined by habit. *Our* fancy paints *a certain personage black*, and the Hindoos make him *white*.

General. In a quarter of an hour all the fleet was in sight, coming towards me under full sail. The two large pinnaces with their lofty masts were imposingly conspicuous, and the appearance of the whole, consisting of more than forty sail, spread from one side of the river to the other, was very beautiful, and drew forth expressions of admiration from the people collected near my boats. They declared they had never seen so splendid a sight. I remained at the shore while the principal boats passed. The first was a handsome two-masted pinnace, the sleeping-boat of Sir Robert Abercromby. It was followed by another considerably larger, resembling in form and splendour the boat of state of the Goldsmiths' Company on the Thames, but with the masts and rigging more adapted for sailing. This vessel was for the reception of the General's company at dinner or on other occasions. The boats of the suite, consisting of smaller pinnaces and budgerows, next followed, without particular order, and the line was closed by a number of boats of various sizes, some carrying the detachment of sepoys forming the General's guard, others the baggage of His Excellency and of his staff, others sheep, goats, poultry, wines, and stores of all kinds. In addition to the boats above mentioned belonging to the Commander-in-chief was a considerable number belonging to merchants, who were glad to avail themselves of the secure protection afforded by the General's fleet. As soon as the pinnaces and budgerows had passed me I cast off from the shore and setting sail at the same time took my station in the rear of this division, my horse-boat and the cooking-boat falling in amongst those of a similar description. I had already settled a few signals with the manjirs or commanders of my two small boats, so that, amongst other things, I could order my horse to be got ready, or either of the boats to come alongside my budgerow.

We soon passed before the high bank on which I had been in the habit of spending a quarter of an hour with the Resident of Santipore in our evening rides, and a little farther entered a

long reach of the river inclining towards the north-west. This change of direction bringing the wind nearly upon our beam, the budgerows and all the other round-bottomed boats had some difficulty in keeping up with the pinnaces, which, having keels and jibs, were able to sail nearer the wind. Indeed, some of the boats would have been driven over to the leeward shore if part of their crew had not jumped overboard with the towing-line and swam to the windward bank, near to which they held the head of the boat while the wind drove her along. Finely situated at the end of this reach was Calwa, a large and flourishing village, having a considerable commerce in grain; and near it were some indigo works and a bungalow[1] belonging to a Frenchman. We gradually resumed our direction more to the north, which, bringing the wind astern, the fleet again moved forward under full sail. The boatmen now having little to do, I hoisted a signal for one of my small boats to join me, and sent one of my chuprasses[2] with a note to the Secretary of the Commander-in-chief, requesting him to take an opportunity of informing His Excellency of my having joined the fleet, and of my desire to avail myself of the first occasion he might find it convenient to name for paying my respects to him. Some time after one of the long beautiful rowing-boats attendant upon the pinnaces for the purposes of communication brought me an answer, saying that His Excellency hoped to see me at dinner on board the large pinnace, when the fleet should come-to for the night.

We soon passed on our left the Mirzapore Nullah,[3] the spot which I had fixed upon for the establishment of a distillery on the Company's account, and such observation as I now had an opportunity of making confirmed my opinion of the practicability of that undertaking. The country along the banks of the nullah, and for some distance to the north, appeared particularly healthy and pleasant.

Some way farther we passed another large village on our

[1] A thatched house. [2] Running footmen. [3] Small river or stream.

left, where there was a considerable manufactory of sugar, which I once visited with the Resident of Santipore.

A little after sunset the General's pinnace shortened sail, steered towards the western shore, and dropped anchor within a few feet of the bank, to which ropes were carried out and made fast to strong pegs driven into the ground. The large dining-pinnace took up her station close by, and the other boats placed themselves astern of these, preserving nearly the order in which they had sailed during the day. Sentinels were placed on the shore opposite the General's boats. The fleet extended a considerable way along the bank, and the operations of driving in the pegs, carrying out the ropes, securing the boats, furling the sails, etc., presented an animated scene.

The cook of each boat now landed with his pots and utensils, and cleared and swept clean a piece of ground opposite his boat suitable to the preparation of dinner for the crew. The little space thus selected was considered sacred, and no one belonging to any other boat, and no one, more particularly of any other caste, would have thought of intruding upon it. There are many countries in which these appropriations, which were really of some importance for the time they were to last, would hardly have been made by so many persons, strangers for the most part to each other, without scrambling and contention, or consequences more serious ; but here there was not the least disorder, no quarrelling or dissatisfaction, not a word between the different crews, although in the selection of ground some would be worse off than others.

Observing that the officers composing the General's staff were assembled on the bank not far from the great pinnace, I quitted my boat and walked towards them, when Colonel Palmer, whom I knew, introduced me to Colonel Auchmuty, who introduced me to such officers as were assembled, and to others as they arrived. A servant announcing that dinner was ready, all went on board the great pinnace, where I was received in the politest way possible by the Commander-in-chief, whom

I now saw for the first time. The party consisted of Sir Robert Abercromby, Commander-in-chief of the Forces in India, of Colonel Auchmuty, Colonel Scott, Colonel Murray, Colonel Dyer, Colonel Palmer, Dr. Laird, Major Hall, and Captain Palmer, aide-de-camp to his father, Colonel Palmer. There were also the ladies of Colonels Murray and Dyer. After a dinner of great sumptuousness some of the company retired to the top of the pinnace to enjoy the cool breeze from the water; some took a turn upon the shore, where the crews of the fleet were now taking their principal meal of the day in a way which may be thus described. The curry and rice composing this humble repast were served out in small red earthen plates, or in larger ones when three or four friends agreed to mess together. The cook having made the division, these contented men sat down in groups, some upon the shore, some upon the decks of the boats, helping themselves from the plates before them with the fingers of the right hand. Their only drink was water from the Ganges.

After a short interval, the tables in the dining-room being removed, the company re-assembled to take coffee and play at cards or form parties in conversation. The General being fond of good coffee, that which was prepared upon these occasions was of peculiar excellence, being made with the finest mocha by a man whom the General had brought from the western coast of India for that purpose, for he had nothing else to do. Well do I remember this man and his high-peaked turban as well as his excellent coffee. In dress and physiognomy he was unlike any native of India I had hitherto seen. He was very fair, and had a dignity of deportment far above his occupation. A long robe of flowered muslin, secured round his waist by a long fold of the same material, descended nearly to his feet. His turban was wound up high in a conical form, like the spiral shells placed upon chimney-pieces. In religion he was a Parsee, or worshipper of the sun, being a follower of Zerdusht, corrupted by European philology into Zoroaster.

This sect has a particular veneration for fire as the emblem of the chief object of their adoration.

Before the party broke up at night the General came up to me and said he should always expect to see me at dinner, and understanding that I had brought a cooking-boat with me, observed that I should have no occasion for it, and requested me to dismiss it. On going ashore with the rest of the party I found a great number of lanterns, brought by our servants to conduct us to our respective boats. The General retired to his private pinnace a few yards ahead.

Sir Robert Abercromby was tall, upright, strong and active, fond of exercise, particularly of walking, and capable of walking great distances without fatigue. His features, though national, were mild, his conversation easy and unaffected, his manner, in public and private, at his levees and at his table, most dignified and polite. He was of an ancient Scotch family, and brother of Sir Ralph Abercromby, who distinguished himself so much in the conquest of the French possessions in the West Indies in the beginning of the war which followed the French revolution, and afterwards fell gloriously in the battle which decided the expulsion of the French from Egypt. Sir Robert had served in America in the war which preceded the separation of the American colonies from England, and often referred to some of the events of his campaign in that country. He was subsequently Commander-in-chief at Bombay, and commanded the Bombay army sent to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis in the war against Tippoo. His demeanour towards the officers of his staff who accompanied him up the Ganges was particularly kind and friendly, and, young as I was, when his daily guest he treated me with equal attention, often taking me aside and talking with me for half an hour together in the course of the evening. Some of the subjects of these conversations I still remember, as I do with undiminished gratitude the numerous instances of kindness which I received so early in life from this most amiable and gentlemanly man.

Colonel Auchmuty was Secretary to the Commander-in-chief, had been his companion in America, and was now his friend and confidential adviser in India. To a powerful mind, improved by an excellent education and polished by literary pursuits, he joined a great knowledge of the world, the fruit of his extensive travels. His manner, notwithstanding, was rather of the old school, his address being formal, his conversation serious and reserved. Unfortunately many persons mistook for pride what was merely a peculiarity of habit, and this misconception prevented his being a favourite with the army, or at least with officers who had business at headquarters. The Colonel resembled one of those highly-finished pictures which require a close examination to appreciate their merit. It was they alone who had the advantage of being admitted to some degree of intimacy who could be duly sensible of his superior attainments and feel his numerous claims to esteem. Colonel Auchmuty was subsequently raised to the rank of General and to the title of Baronet, and commanded at the taking of Buenos Ayres—a difficult service, in which he obtained much credit. He was afterwards Commander-in-chief at Madras, and finally Commander-in-chief in Ireland, in which situation he died suddenly, falling from his horse in an apoplectic fit. I never think of the many agreeable days I spent in this officer's company, and of his great kindness to me, without regretting my having never seen him after my return from India.

Colonel Scott was an officer in the East India Company's service, in which he had obtained high distinction by his abilities, and particularly by his literary qualifications. He was esteemed one of the best Persian scholars in India, and had acquired reputation as the translator of several Persian works. He was afterwards appointed Ambassador to the Court of Lucnow, but perhaps the best evidence of his merit was the esteem in which he was successively held by Lord Cornwallis, whom he accompanied to Seringapatam, and by the present Commander-in-chief.

Colonel Palmer also was one of the most distinguished officers of the Company's service, and had long, under successive administrations, been employed in diplomatic situations of the first importance. In the correspondence which attended the complicated dissensions of Oude and Rohilcund in the time of Mr. Hastings, the letters of Colonel Palmer were distinguished by their superior excellence, and were still cited as models of diplomatic writing. He was now Ambassador from the Supreme Government to the Court of Dowlut Rao Scindia, one of the chiefs of the Mahrattah powers, and was subsequently the representative of the British Government at the Court of the Peishwah, head of the Mahrattah states, whose capital is Poonah, in the Indian peninsula, a little to the east of Bombay.

Colonel Murray, an agreeable, gentlemanly man, was Adjutant-General of the Company's troops. He was brother of Sir John Murray, one of my best Calcutta friends.

Colonel Dyer was the chief engineer officer of Fort William and of the Bengal army, and attended the Commander-in-chief in that capacity.

Major Hall, the General's aide-de-camp, was remarkable for his pleasant cheerfulness and good-humour, qualities which rendered him a general favourite and well suited him for his place at the bottom of the Commander-in-chief's dining-table.

Last, and *not least*, was Dr. Laird, chief surgeon on the Bengal establishment and President of the Medical Board. He had been long in India, and was no less estimable for his humanity and kindness than for his professional abilities. He also was attached to the personal staff of Lord Cornwallis during the Mysore war. When my lamented friend, Colonel Skelly, was confined by his fatal illness, and attended by Dr. Laird, upon its being proposed to him to consult Dr. Fleming, an eminent physician of Calcutta, who possessed much roughness of manner, he replied that he would rather be killed by Laird than cured by Fleming.

Such was the General's party, and the whole time I passed

in this delightful society was spent as agreeably and was marked with as much polite attention as was this, the first day of my introduction. It was usual for everybody to breakfast on board his own boat, receiving supplies of everything from the General's stores, and to meet on board His Excellency's pinnace when the fleet stopped in the evening, or when the flag denoting the approach of dinner-time was hoisted.

The General having desired me to send back my cooking boat, I had to make the necessary communication to my babeschu, or cook. This he received with evident regret, which was apparently increased when he mentioned the change to his wife, for he returned to me much dejected and said it would be a great disappointment to them both to return to Santipore without seeing Casi. I therefore told him that if he and his wife chose to go to Benares on board the horse-boat, they might do so, in which case I would send back the cooking-boat without them. This he very readily agreed to, and having in the course of the night removed such things belonging to me or to him as would be required during the voyage, I paid a month's wages to the crew and desired them to return to Santipore the next morning upon the fleet's moving.

19*th July*.—The preparations for moving the fleet commenced an hour before daylight, when the orders of the commanders of the different boats, and the strokes of the heavy wooden mallets to loosen the pegs in the ground, by striking first one side of them and then the other, produced a great noise along the shore. I had ordered my tanyan[1] to be ready by break of day, being willing to ascertain before I took him farther how far the contrivance made to secure my morning's ride answered. As soon as it was light I walked to the horse-boat to superintend the first trial, when the boat being placed with her side to the shore and held firmly in that position, the rope descending from the mast to the movable part of the roof was hauled upon till this part was raised sufficiently high to enable the horse to jump

[1] A small horse from the Bootan hills.

out without striking his head. He immediately sprang upon the shore in the readiest manner, saddled and bridled, and I took a very pleasant ride on the western bank of the river, sometimes deviating a short distance into the interior when the appearance of culture and population assured me there was no danger from tigers.

I saw, as on my way from Calcutta to Santipore, numbers of people, men and women, proceeding from the villages to the Ganges to perform their morning ablutions, all preserving the same quiet and decent demeanour. I also saw, as in my early rides at Santipore, many peasants on their way to the fields. Sometimes I saw a man or a boy driving a pair of bullocks before him and carrying at the same time a plough upon his shoulder; for an Indian plough is extremely simple and light, consisting merely of a small beam pointed with iron at one end, and having a handle to guide it with at the other extremity. Of course the furrow which such an instrument is capable of making can have but very little depth. The same simplicity, and almost exactly the same form, exists in all the parts of India I have visited, and a light but fertile soil, moistened by the periodical rains and warmed by a powerful sun, does not seem to require a more laborious or expensive preparation. I continued to ride till the sun was a little above the horizon, when I stopped, and the horse-boat being held to the shore as before, my tanyan jumped back into his floating stable. At dinner to-day the General spoke of my morning's ride, congratulating me on the success of my contrivance.

In the course of the day we passed, on the right bank, Nuddea, a town of great antiquity and celebrity, being said to have been the capital of Bengal more than 4000 years before the reign of Acbar in the sixteenth century. I could perceive no signs of its ancient consequence, but it continues to give its name to the adjoining district in which Santipore is situated, and is still famous, as it was in former ages, as one of the principal seats of Hindoo learning in Bengal. Sir

William Jones had a high opinion of the learned men of Nuddea, and used to consult them when engaged in his researches in Hindoo mythology and literature. Nuddea was one of the places at which the tobacco plant was first introduced into India by Europeans during the reign of the Emperor Acbar, and it is still extensively cultivated in this part of the country. Soon after passing this town we arrived at the head of the Hoogley (or Calcutta branch of the Ganges), as that point is called where the Jellinghy and Cossimbazar, two branches of the Ganges, meeting form by their union that river. The large triangular tract of country, bounded by the two streams to the east and west, and by the course of the Ganges to the north, is called the Cossimbazar Island.

Leaving the Jellinghy on our right we continued our course toward the north, entering the Cossimbazar Channel. It is considerably less than the Hoogley, scarcely exceeding the width of the Thames at Richmond even in the rainy season. Indeed the Cossimbazar and Jellinghy together do not appear equal to the wide stream which their junction forms.

The country continued flat, but the banks were in general from five to eight feet above the level of the river, and were well cultivated, particularly on the western side, for on the eastern shore were occasional tracts of sand and long grass, the consequence, no doubt, of the inundations to which the southern point of the Cossimbazar Island was subjected from its position between, and at the junction of, two rivers. The grass jungles—wide spaces of grass, often six to eight feet high, which cover much of this part of the island—contain many wild boars, and on that account are sometimes visited by parties of sportsmen fond of boar-hunting.

It was here that Captain Connell met with his serious accident a few weeks before. In this dangerous chase, for such it is considered, the hunter is on horsebark, and is armed with a spear about seven feet long, formed of a small species of bamboo, and pointed with a double-edged blade of about eight

inches in length. The boar, being dislodged from the jungle by a number of men proceeding through it in a line, is followed at full gallop by his pursuer, who throws his spear at him when at a proper distance. Here, however, the danger is considerable, for if the boar is wounded or too closely pressed he will turn and charge, and it frequently happens that in the conflict which then ensues the horse is ripped up and falls dead upon the spot. So probable are thought to be these accidents that horses of inferior value are alone employed in this chase. I have been told that the boar when struck *spins round* in a peculiar manner so as to throw the spear from his body with considerable force. Another danger is that of riding against the shaft of a spear, which, having missed the boar, sticks in the ground, though a skilful hunter will recover his spear as he passes it, and pursuing the animal renew his attack.

The first considerable village we passed on entering the Cossimbazar river was Agadeep, situated on the island. The fleet advanced ten miles farther, and came-to for the night near the ancient military post of Cutwa, situated near the junction of the Adjee with the Cossimbazar river on the border of a well-cultivated plain. The name of Cutwa often occurs in the military history of Bengal, but its celebrated walls are now in an entirely dismantled state, presenting a pitiable contrast with their ancient renown. Its military fame, however, has been well exchanged for the arts of peace. The stream which defended its ramparts was no less favourable to the operations of agriculture and commerce. A spot so advantageous could not long escape the research of European adventure. Accordingly, on descending the Ganges a few years after, I found an indigo factory erected here, and obtained an acceptable supply of bread and butter from the proprietor.

The next day the windings and narrowness of the river impeded the progress of our numerous fleet. As we were now approaching Plassey, only ten coss from Cutwa, the General and his suite were impatient to view the spot famous above every

other in the military annals of British India, and which the exploits of a former Commander-in-chief had raised to this distinction. Early in the evening we came within sight of Plassey Grove, the famous wood near the eastern bank of the river which had covered the rear of the British lines; and brought-to, opposite its north-western angle, close to the remains of the Nabob's hunting pavilion, for the Ganges had since washed away a part of this celebrated memorial of the subjection of India. The following are a few of the particulars relating to this spot, and to the events connected with it.

Aliverdy Khan, Nabob of Bengal, died in the year 1756, conjuring, like another Amilcar, his posterity to make no concessions to the British power in India, otherwise, said the dying Subah, the independence of our country will be lost. Whether following the impulse of his own disposition, or the injunction of the deceased Nabob, the Prince, Serajah Dowlah, lost no time in discovering his hostility to the English establishment in Bengal, at that time limited to their factories at Calcutta, Cossimbazar, and a few other places in the interior. He charged the Company's administration with various encroachments, particularly with an extension of their military works at Calcutta, contrary to the stipulations of existing treaties. Although such stipulations are only observed till they can be broken with impunity, there can be no doubt that the charges brought against the Company's Government were, at least, exaggerated by the hostile disposition of the Nabob, who probably, moreover, considered the present moment a favourable one, as it certainly was, for bringing these accusations forward; or, in other words, for declaring war against the Company.

The principal settlement of the East India Company at this period was Madras, where the rising influence of an aspiring neighbour required the most vigilant attention. The foundation of this rising power had been laid at Pondicherry by the French general, Dupleissy, in the year 1749, and after various

conflicts, attended by various results, between the forces of the two nations was nearly extinguished in 1761 by the capture by storm of Pondicherry itself, the sepoys in our service, who had been trained to European tactics by General Dupleissy, being the first to enter the breach after, as I have heard, the European detachment had failed in the attempt; an important fact, if true, which it would behove the actual rulers of India to bear in remembrance.

The time when our attention and principal force were thus engaged so far from Bengal was well calculated to suggest, or, at least, to encourage and favour the hostile proceedings which followed the accession of Serajah Dowlah. This prince left his capital, Moorshedabad, marched to Calcutta, and, without much difficulty, made himself master of the settlement, and of the fort which had been erected for its defence. Everything excepting a few vessels which escaped down the river, and on board of which were my friends Captains Thornhill and Macfarlane, fell into his hands. It was then that ensued the dreadful catastrophe of the Black Hole. The news of this disaster naturally produced the most painful impression at the Company's stations on the Coromandel coast. Every effort was necessary, and was promptly made, to arrest a danger which threatened the Company's existence in every part of India. A small detachment of troops with stores was despatched from Madras, and reaching the ships in the Ganges with the refugees from Calcutta, proved a most important relief to the numerous families on board, whose situation during more than two months in an unhealthy part of the river, with scarcely the necessaries of life, the surrounding country being in the possession of the Nabob, I have heard represented as truly deplorable. It would have been still more grievous without the generous sympathy of the Dutch and French, who, at the risk of drawing upon themselves the resentment of the triumphant Subah, supplied the ships with provisions from Chinsurah and Chandernagore, sent down the river in the night.

So limited and so little organised were the Company's resources

at this period, that it was not till the month of December, six months after the capture of Calcutta, that effectual succour reached Bengal. Admiral Watson then entered the Ganges with the *Salisbury*, *Kent*, and *Tiger*, men-of-war, two frigates, and two Indiamen, having on board 600 European soldiers and 1000 sepoys, a force which would now be thought very small, though at that time, doubtless, it was considerable. I never heard Captain Thornhill complain of the delay of this arrival, or state the cause of it, but it may be presumed to have been partly occasioned by the difficulty of assembling the ships of war, and by the further difficulty the fleet would experience in beating up the bay against the northerly monsoon. The English were now sufficiently strong to commence offensive operations. On the 27th December the fleet advanced, and attacked a small fort called Budge-Budge, which commanded the river. I, some years after, had occasion to know this spot more particularly, for, being entrusted with the reform of the Calcutta Customs, I established a post here under the superintendence of an honest trusty Englishman,[1] who had been recommended to me by some friends of my family in London.[2] The little fort made a gallant defence, not surrendering till the British men-of-war had made a breach in the walls, and the troops which had been landed were about to storm the place. On the 2nd January 1757 the army was landed near Calcutta, and the ships anchoring before the fort, this surrendered after a very slight resistance.

The return of the British inhabitants to Calcutta was attended by many circumstances calculated to diminish the joy of that event. Most of their friends had suffered a horrible death, and the few survivors had been led captive to Moorshedabad. They found their houses destroyed and their property plundered; nor had they the consolation of considering their misfortunes limited to this extent. Their future safety was far from appearing assured. So early as the following month the Nabob returned

[1] John Berthol.

[2] The Bicknells, friends of my uncle John.

to Calcutta with a very large force, expecting, no doubt, to renew his former triumph, and disposed, probably, to exceed his former cruelty. An action followed, in which Colonel Clive, who commanded the British troops, had the advantage, though his little army suffered considerable loss. Foiled this time in his designs, Serajah Dowlah returned to Moorshedabad, and soon after signed a treaty of peace, by which the former privileges of the Company were confirmed, and in some particulars materially augmented. They were allowed, or at least promised, a free trade through the country, and a restitution, as far as practicable, of their plundered property. Similar restitution, or compensation in its stead, was granted to the European inhabitants of Calcutta. The sums thus obtained from the weakness, it may be presumed, rather than from the generosity or compunction of the Nabob, were very considerable, and were divided between the English, Armenians, Portuguese, and other nations, according to a schedule I once saw, but of which I regret not having preserved the particulars.

But that peace of which one party alone boasts, or feels the advantage, must always be of uncertain duration. Such a peace itself becomes the source of renewed contention. Thus fresh differences soon arose between Serajah Dowlah and the British Government, and both parties seemed disposed again to refer their decision to the sword. The Nabob left his capital for the third time with 50,000 infantry, 20,000 horse, and 50 pieces of cannon. To meet such a force Colonel Clive had only 1000 Europeans, 2000 sepoys, and 6 field-pieces. With these disproportionate numbers did he march into the interior of the country as far as Cutwa, the town we passed yesterday, a distance of about seventy miles. It always seemed to me an oversight, as I passed over the theatre of these events, that Serajah Dowlah should have allowed the British Commander to possess himself of the latter post, a strong central position, equally supporting an advance and securing a retreat, threatening Moorshedabad and covering Calcutta, and commanding the intermediate

country between the two cities. It was the move which the Nabob himself should have made, and his neglect to make it perhaps gave his adversary the game.

After remaining at Cutwa three days Colonel Clive crossed the river in the evening, and marched all night, in torrents of rain, to gain possession of Plassey Grove, at a short distance to the north of which the Nabob's army was encamped. He halted his wet and weary troops till daylight, when he perceived the Nabob marching towards him with all the pomp and circumstance of Oriental warfare—with costly banners flying, a vast number of elephants covered with rich scarlet trappings, and a large park of artillery drawn by immense teams of oxen. The appearance of this Indian army is said to have been very splendid, but it was undoubtedly more calculated to amuse the curiosity of a British force than inspire it with uneasiness. Indeed, such gorgeous display might rather tend to stimulate its exertion, and such effeminate magnificence be regarded as a pledge of victory. Still the superior numbers of the Nabob's army were able to compel the English, who had quitted the wood and drawn up in front of the mound which commanded it, to retreat behind this embankment, from which position they fired through embrasures which they made in it. The battle continued till the middle of the day, when a heavy fall of rain obliged the Indian line to suspend its fire, though that of the English guns still continued. The engagement was renewed with great vigour on both sides when the rain had ceased, and the Nabob even attempted to get possession of the hunting-house on the banks of the river, where the headquarters of the British army had been established the preceding night. After various efforts, made apparently with determination and judgment, to surround and force the British position, the Nabob was seen retreating towards his intrenched camp, intending probably to renew the attack the following day. At this moment of probable negligence Colonel Clive, observing disorder in the Indian columns, and that the elephants were in confusion, quitted the

grove, and ordered a general assault. This was withstood by the enemy with a firmness which was, perhaps, little expected, and which might even have been rewarded by victory but for one of those extraordinary occurrences by which the fate of kingdoms, particularly of kingdoms of the East, is too often decided. Jaffier Khan, principal General, and relative of Serajah Dowlah, betrayed him in the middle of the conflict which ensued. The mysterious inactivity of a large division under his orders at this most critical moment, when the scales of victory seemed nicely balanced, paralysed the efforts of the more faithful part of the Nabob's troops, and gave an advantage to Colonel Clive, of which he promptly availed himself. The enemy's line was broken, and a general rout followed. The Nabob's camp, cannon, and baggage fell into the hands of the British, who continued the pursuit of the fugitive army till a late hour in the night.

The Nabob himself left the field of battle on an elephant,[1] and is said to have been the first who reached his capital, distant about thirty miles. The British army entered it on the 27th, and on the 29th Jaffier Khan received the promised or expected reward of his treason, being proclaimed Nabob of Bengal in the palace of Serajah Dowlah, who, in the night previous to the arrival of the victorious troops, had escaped from a window in disguise, accompanied by a few faithful attendants. He fled towards Patna, but being discovered at Rajmehal, where a brother of Jaffier commanded, he was made prisoner, and sent back to Moorshedabad, where he was immediately put to death, with the assent, there can be little doubt, of Jaffier, though by the order, it was pretended, of Murdham, his son, but without the knowledge, there was more reason to suppose, of Colonel Clive. Notwithstanding our recollection of the conduct of Serajah Dowlah towards our unfortunate countrymen at Calcutta, such a termination of the life of this young prince—for

[1] Some accounts say a *camel*, a very unusual and un-royal mode of retreat. Besides, camels are very little used in Bengal. The climate does not agree with them and the soil does not suit them.

I believe he was only in his twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth year—cannot but excite our disapprobation and regret.

I have forgotten to mention a circumstance relating to the victory of Plassey which interested me as I viewed the remains of the Nabob's hunting-house. After the action Colonel Clive returned to this building, and seating himself in a chair, seemed absorbed in profound meditation. The extraordinary change effected in the Company's affairs by the event of the battle just concluded, and the importance of the steps next to be taken, might be supposed to be the subjects of his reflection at this moment, though from the circumstance of his taking out his penknife and cutting the word "Clive" upon the arm of the chair it might perhaps be inferred that his own personal fame was not altogether absent from his thoughts.

It is generally supposed, though by some persons I have heard the fact doubted, and by others denied, that Jaffier Khan had been gained over to the cause of the English, previous to the action, by the promise of being created Nabob; but I do not know how far this fact is established by the records which must exist of the public transactions of that period. The desertion of Jaffier Khan under such circumstances would naturally lead to the suspicion not only of premeditated treachery on his part, but of preconcerted arrangement with the Government of Calcutta and the Commander-in-chief. The character of Jaffier—weak, unprincipled, ambitious—rendered him a useful instrument in the hands of these parties, while the desperate state of the Company's affairs, and the relentless hostility of Serajah Dowlah, certainly afforded as good a justification of connivance in the treason of Jaffier Khan as is generally required to satisfy the scruples of nations on such occasions. If there were no private understanding between the British Government and Jaffier Khan, it seems extraordinary that Colonel Clive should, without waiting for instructions from Calcutta authorising so important a proceeding, proceed to place this unworthy chief upon the throne, though, in fact, he rather ascended it himself,

as founder and representative of the British power in India, for from that day the ancient sovereignty of these countries, though nominally preserved for some time longer, was virtually transferred to the British nation. The usual encroachments of power led to the gradual, but total, extinction of the influence of the native princes; the successors of the ancient kings of Bhurata [1] became the pensioned dependants of a foreign company, receiving a monthly stipend from their treasury for their support; the capital of Bengal, not less populous, and more rich than the metropolis of the British Empire, was lowered to a secondary provincial city, deprived of much of its importance and all its splendour, and, by a species of barbarism, from which the conquests of the most polished nations are not exempt, losing even its true name.

Jaffier Khan did not long enjoy the fruits of his baseness. The same qualities which render a man useful as an agent often disqualify him as a principal. He who has gained his ascendancy by perfidy and deception is naturally suspicious of the good faith of others, and hence frequently wants, in his new station, the confidence necessary to his own security. In three years after his elevation Jaffier was deposed by the power which had raised him, and Cossim Ally chosen in his place. But the bold and aspiring mind of this prince rendered him little fit to be the mere semblance of a king. He resolved to break the chains which bound him on his throne, but not having duly estimated the force of these or his own strength, he failed in the attempt, and the authority he had hoped to supplant made no scruple to remove the crown it had placed upon his head. In this crisis the useful, the contemptible, the disgraced, but contented Jaffier was again brought forward, and reinstated with the show of royalty of which he had been deprived only three years before. This extraordinary restoration, which one hardly knows whether to pronounce ludicrous

[1] The old name of Bengal, when the Sanscrit is said to have been the common language.

or solemn, took place in the year 1763. Cossim Ally retreated from Bengal, not, however, to forget his disgrace or abandon his lost kingdom, but, on the contrary, to conspire the means of avenging the one and of recovering the other. With these views he formed in particular an alliance with Sujah Dowlah, Nabob of Oude. It is to be regretted that his plans of redress did not confine themselves to this legitimate extent, for they were sometimes marked with such acts of cruelty to the English and their adherents as have left a stigma upon the character of this prince, diminishing the consideration his courage would otherwise have procured him, and even the pity due to his misfortunes. But the continued success of the British arms in the years 1763-65 defeated all combination to disturb or retard the increasing preponderance of our power in the East, and Cossim Ally, after having shared the victory of Sujah Dowlah at Paninput and his defeat at Buxar, ended his days in the asylum which the laudable sympathy and friendship of the Emperor had afforded him at Dehli, where, some years after, I visited his tomb.

The superior fortune of his rival, Jaffier Khan, was of short duration. He died in the year 1765 at an advanced age, following, instead of preceding, to the grave his much beloved son, the chief hope and incitement no doubt, and perhaps best excuse, of his criminal ambition. This prince was struck dead by lightning, an event calculated to make a deep and, it is to be hoped, a salutary impression upon the Subah's mind at the close of such a life. He was succeeded by his nephew, Nudjoomul Dowlah, whose name is scarcely known in India, and who, in fact, can claim no other distinction than that of having been the last of his line, the Augustulus of the subahs of Bengal. For it was now that Lord Clive obtained for the Company the grant of the Dewanny—that is, the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, amounting to about three millions sterling, together with the entire administration of these great countries. In return for this prodigious cession, which at once made the

East India Company sovereigns of the richest part of India, the Emperor was to receive a tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees, together with Allahabad and Corah, districts forming part of the territories of Oude, and not belonging to the Company, who gave them away and received the price of their transfer. While the grant alluded to above may be considered the foundation of the Company's political power in India, it is to be hoped that this important transaction, however disproportioned the conditions seem to be, was, on the part of Colonel Clive and the Government, just and generous towards the Emperor; that no advantage was taken of his confidence or ignorance, or of the state of misfortune and dependence in which the vicissitudes of fortune had placed him; that he knew, or was apprised of if he did not, the immense consequences of his concession; that he saw that he was parting with the costliest jewel of his crown. The victory of Plassey would lose its splendour if it should be found to have been gained by concerted treachery, and to have been followed with deception and injustice.

It will be perceived from the above that the battle of Plassey entirely changed the situation of the Company's affairs, which were in a most unprosperous state before that event. In the year preceding, the English at Calcutta were driven to their ships, leaving their factory, their fort, and such of their countrymen as could not escape in the hands of the Nabob. Our power in Bengal seemed almost annihilated, while at Madras it was rendered very precarious by the presence of such formidable enemies as the French and Hyder Ally. As the victory of Plassey extricated us from these dangers, so there can be little doubt but the *loss* of that battle would have been followed by our speedy expulsion from our Indian possessions. The preservation of our power in that country has therefore been justly ascribed to the success of our arms on that memorable day; and Colonel Clive, to whose promptitude in hastening from the coast, and judgment and valour in the field, this success was so mainly attributable, well deserved the

honours and the recompense he received. To equip an army of natives under the circumstances in which Colonel Clive reached Bengal, and to inspire that army with confidence and fidelity in a war against their own princes, and against numbers so superior, certainly showed no common resources of mind. Upon the news of the victory reaching England, Colonel Clive was created a peer, with the title of Baron Plassey, and the East India Company granted him a large pension, and appointed him chief of the Bengal Government.

It may well be imagined that Sir Robert Abercromby and his party walked about the plain of Plassey, and traced the position and movements of the respective armies, with great interest; nor were the military observations and comments which I heard afterwards at dinner, and in the course of the evening, scarcely less interesting. We quitted this celebrated spot the next morning, but I have passed it two or three times since, and observed that the encroachments of the river threatened the destruction of the grove. The civil administration of the district should endeavour to preserve this, as well for its usefulness and beauty as for being the most interesting feature that remains to identify the field of battle. If we do not cover waste plains with new groves of the mangoe tree, nor make fresh avenues of the lofty peepul, in whose sacred shade the Hindoos once walked from their villages in the interior to perform their ablutions in the Ganges, it is at least incumbent on us to preserve the useful embellishments which already adorn the country. An avenue of the peepul formerly extended from Kishenaghur to the Ganges, a distance of fourteen miles, passing close to Santipore. I almost always crossed it in my morning rides, and never saw its venerable trees, near which those of Europe would "hide their diminished heads," without regretting the total neglect and consequent gradual decay of this noble work of public utility and princely munificence.

Nothing particular occurred the day we left Plassey. The following day we passed Cossimbazar, a large town at some

distance from the river, celebrated for its manufactures of cotton goods and silk. This was one of the places in Bengal at which European factories were first established, and the East India Company have still a commercial residency here. But the great and early importance of Cossimbazar may be better inferred from the circumstance of its having given its name to the contiguous river, as well as to the extensive island on which it is situated. A few miles farther, the arrival of several handsome boats, with English officers on board, to pay their respects to the Commander-in-chief, denoted our approach to Berhampore, the largest military station in Bengal after Calcutta. The barracks and public buildings, forming an extensive square, appeared very handsome, and to be kept in great order. The vicinity of Moorshedabad, doubtless, led to the choice of this spot for a military cantonment, and for the same reason a considerable division of our army is always stationed here. General Rawstorne, whom I had known in Calcutta, and some of the staff officers of the garrison, dined with His Excellency this evening. A numerous party sat down to a splendid entertainment, and partook afterwards of the Parsee's mocha. Soon after daybreak the next morning, Sir Robert inspected the troops under arms in the great square. Finding that he would be engaged in business with the officers of the station during the forenoon, I decided upon moving gently on after the review, and waiting for the fleet at Moorshedabad, distant only five miles.

I found the modern and last capital of the native sovereigns of Bengal to be larger, but not handsomer, than I expected. Its extent, not easy to measure or define, might still be compared with that of London, but its population was certainly much less, not exceeding, it was supposed, 200,000 ; the whole, with very little exception, Hindoo. In *wealth* the falling off since the British conquest,—as the battle of Plassey, the Hastings of Hindostan may be called,—was undoubtedly still greater, a painful consideration; but it may be observed that the action of the new administration has been more favourable

to the country than to the cities, to the cottage than to the palace.

The line of the city, along the eastern bank of the river, is very extensive, and was crowded with boats the whole way; but the streets are narrow, and contain few buildings, public or private, worthy of notice. All signs of former opulence had disappeared, without being succeeded by any visible indications of modern prosperity. Whether the palace of the present Nabob was the same that was stained with the blood of Serajah Dowlah I did not learn. It is a spacious structure, but this and his title are all that the present possessor retains of the state of his ancestors, the stipend which he receives from the Company being rather a proof of his dependence than an acknowledgment of his power. I was told that this payment was not always made with the regularity with which it ought to be, and that the family and the household of the Prince sometimes experienced serious inconvenience from this delay. I had no opportunity of knowing the truth of this report, and hoped it was not well founded. Any abuse here, either on the part of the Company's Government, or of the officer charged with the payment of the Nizamul stipends, as these allowances are called, would be very unjustifiable. I understood that the sum thus expended was very liberal, and fully adequate to the maintenance of the Nabob's family in a situation as comformable as can be expected to their former more prosperous condition.

The General's fleet not overtaking me so soon as I had supposed, there seemed a chance of my going without my dinner to-day. To obviate so serious a dilemma, I sent one of my attendants to the Nabob's palace, desiring him to get introduced to the Khansamah, or chief butler of the establishment, and to request that he would order a curry and rice to be sent from His Highness's kitchen. I received a very polite answer saying that my desire would of course be complied with, and at my usual dinner-hour the servants of the Nabob came on board my boat, bringing not a curry alone, but various other dishes. As, how-

ever, I had mentioned *a curry*, particular pains seemed to have been taken with this preparation, for it excelled all the curries I had hitherto eaten. This perfection was explained by my hearing afterwards that a good curry was considered the *chef d'œuvre* of Indian epicurism. Although some time has elapsed since this trifling incident occurred, I seldom see a curry at table without thinking of the one I received from the Nabob's kitchen at Moorshedabad.

The fleet of the Commander-in-chief did not arrive till next morning, and was then a long time in getting clear of the city; for the river here making a sudden turn, the wind was not sufficiently fair for sailing, and the tracking was greatly impeded by the masts of the boats which lined both shores. The time required for the track-ropes of the fleet to pass so many masts would have been still greater but for the contrivance adopted by the stationary boats to facilitate the operation. Where the bank of the river was high, and the mast of the boat to be passed rather low, a rope, stretched tight from the top of the rudder to the mast-head, was generally sufficient to allow the tow rope to slide up and slip over; but in other cases a rope from the deck, being passed through a pulley at the mast-head, was brought down nearly to the deck, and then tied to a long bamboo, about a foot from the end of it. The foot of bamboo thus left served to hook the tow rope when it arrived, and, being hoisted, carried it as high as the pulley, when a boatman who had mounted previously took it in his hand and threw it over the top of the mast. The difficulty however of passing so many lines, even in this manner, and the delay and confusion which ensued, excited the impatience of the manjirs and boatmen of the fleet, who reproached in no very gentle terms the men of the shore boats for their awkwardness or slowness. The latter generally submitted patiently to these unmerited accusations; some, however, were not so submissive, and the altercation which then followed increased the general clamour and bustle, which did not cease till the whole fleet had passed the city. Towards

the extremity of Moorshedabad on the opposite bank I observed the remains of an ancient palace. From its extent, and the appearance of an old fortress attached to it, I supposed it to have been the residence of one of the nabobs of the country in former times. It seemed probable that this, as most of the public edifices in Moorshedabad, had suffered from the reiterated attacks of the Mahrattahs, whose countless cavalry, fording the Cossimbazar river in the dry months, entered the city and overran the whole country as far as Calcutta. One of these destructive incursions is still remembered at Moorshedabad as having been attended with peculiar devastation and outrage. The intermission of these successive depredations was obtained only by the annual payment, by the reigning prince, of a tribute called chout, calculated as the fourth part of the public revenue ; and even the East India Company, upon succeeding to the Dewanny before mentioned, continued for some time to pay this ignominious contribution. The entire cessation of these ruinous visitations, as well as of all other external attack or menace, may be considered one of the greatest or, at least, most evident advantages which Bengal receives in return for her political subjection.

Moorshedabad presented scenes of indescribable distress during a dreadful famine which prevailed in Bengal in the year 1767. The starving inhabitants of the surrounding district rushing to the city, it became utterly impossible to afford relief to the numbers assembled, and many thousands consequently of these miserable beings, entire families, perished in the circumjacent roads and fields ; orders, dictated by a cruel necessity, being given by the police for their exclusion from the streets. Although the relief afforded by the agents of Government was undoubtedly as extensive as possible, the number of victims was prodigious, exceeding, I have heard, 1,000,000 in those districts alone of which Moorshedabad may be considered the centre, comprising Santipore and the northern part of the Nuddea district.

The General stopped this evening between Moorshedabad and Jungypore, and I rejoined him at dinner.

The following day we passed Jungypore, a considerable town on the eastern side of the river. Here the Company had a silk factory. The country is low, and the station, consequently, is not considered healthy. Once, when descending the river not far from this, the waters, having broken through the eastern bank, rushed with such violence into the low country that my boatmen were obliged to make extraordinary exertion to prevent my budgerow being drawn down the fall. For some moments our escape seemed very doubtful.

Six coss farther we reached Sooty, a small village on the right bank, and from which this part of the Cossimbazar river takes its name, being called the Sooty Nullah, or small stream of Sooty. It is very contracted and shallow, and not being navigable in the dry months obstructs the navigation between Calcutta and the Ganges until the general rising of the waters, shortly previous to the commencement of the rains. Between the middle and the end of June the general inquiry above and below this point is, whether the Sooty Nullah be open, for as soon as it is the great interior navigation between Calcutta and the north-western countries begins. One of the numerous objects of public utility, claiming the attention of the Company's Government, is the deepening of this passage, so as to render it navigable at all seasons, or at least for a greater part of the year than at present. Were one month alone added to the beginning, and another to the end, of the usual period of passage, a great advantage to the internal commerce of the country would be gained.

Soon after entering this strait my attention was excited by a considerable noise among my people on the roof of my boat, over my head. I easily guessed the cause of this, before the arrival of one of my servants to tell me, that we were approaching the "Great River." I quitted my room, and went upon deck. Here I found my boatmen and servants all collected, and look-

ing with great eagerness ahead of the budgerow towards the north-east, the direction, nearly, in which we were sailing. The rest of the boats, which were pressed together in a channel not wider than the Thames at Hampton, exhibited the same display of earnest curiosity and feeling. The impatience of the seaman to see again his native land is not greater than was the anxiety manifested by the Hindoos of the fleet to behold the Ganges. After proceeding half a mile farther the object of all this enthusiasm became visible over a point of land we were to pass. In an instant a clamorous expression of joy pervaded the whole fleet; every one raised his hand repeatedly to his head, and some bent and touched the deck, in sign of humility and respect. The magnificent appearance of the great river, now fully open before us, and the strong effusion of pious feeling of so many persons, not certainly towards the stream itself, but towards the Power which made it flow, towards that Being who can hold the waters of the earth in the hollow of his hand, formed altogether one of the most impressive scenes I had ever witnessed. I was deeply struck with the wonderful grandeur of this vast river, and could not be surprised that the early inhabitants of these first peopled regions,—

> The poor Indian, whose untutored mind
> Saw God in clouds, and heard Him in the wind,—

should have regarded so sublime an object with superstitious reverence, and that such impression should have passed to their descendants. As I stood upon the deck of my boat, now arrived at the head of the nullah, the width, rapidity, and agitation of the prodigious mass of water rushing by formed a spectacle truly grand. I had seen nothing so sublime since I stood upon the deck of the *Ponsborne*, in the tempests off the Cape of Good Hope; and though I have since beheld other remarkable scenes, I recollect no one which impressed me with more surprise and admiration than the first sight of the Ganges. The ancient historical celebrity of this river, its classic character as the long-

considered limit of geographical knowledge, and its sanctity amongst so many millions of people, doubtless contribute to the effect which its appearance inspires; for the Burrampooter and Megna, the former as large, the latter larger, do not produce a similar interest. The Ganges here was so wide at this season that objects upon the opposite shore, and even the line of the shore itself, were not distinctly visible. I paid particular attention to this circumstance, as the best by which I could form a comparative judgment of the stream. On either side, to the north-west and south-east, the expanse of water was uninterrupted as far as the eye could reach. This noble river had already flowed 1000 miles through the plains of India, and was yet 400 miles from the sea. Its depth was sometimes more than thirty feet, and its course was at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour. In its progress it had been joined by eight rivers as large as the Thames.

It appeared to me that there must be some danger in entering upon such a flood with the small boats, for the wind, acting against the rapid surface, caused a considerable sea. The pinnaces entered first, and were immediately carried down some way, but their sails being adjusted and their heads brought to a diagonal direction, they advanced rapidly towards the middle, beyond which, the current being less strong, they were able to make their way against it, and finally reached the opposite shore, not much below the point at which they had left the nullah. As soon as the pinnaces were fairly off, the rest of the fleet followed, one by one, beginning with the budgerows. Colonel Auchmuty's took the lead, followed by Colonel Scott's, and mine was launched next. Like all the boats which preceded it, it was at once borne down the stream, the violence of the current along the bank swinging the head round; and it required all the force of the oars to bring it again into a proper direction. In this manner the budgerows and all the boats similarly constructed, having no jibs or side sails to force the head to the current, lost considerably more way than the

pinnaces descending the river in a diagonal line, till they got into the still water and eddies of the other side, when they were able to turn and make sail along the shore and rejoin the pinnaces, which were waiting for them. The waves were so high in the middle of the river that my boat, having her side to them, and no keel to steady her, rolled excessively. This, however, did not prevent my enjoying the fine scene which "*the* river," according to the emphatic expression of the Hindoos, presented from this point, with such a fleet spread upon its surface. Rolling as we did, I seated myself in the middle of my principal room, and having the venetian blinds lifted up and hooked to the ceiling, I contemplated with inexpressible gratification this grand spectacle.

The fleet being reassembled, the General again made sail. Two hours after he entered a large nullah, and as soon as the fleet also had entered it, the signal appeared for stopping for the night, and we came-to along a beautiful green bank which sloped to the water's edge. The crews took up their cooking ground upon a grass slip between the top of this bank and the fields. When the party met at dinner, the great event of the day, the passage of the Ganges, became another interesting subject of conversation, and although the General had seen large rivers in America, he expressed himself much pleased with the scene he had just witnessed. For my part, the sight, first of Plassey, then of Moorshedabad, and now of the Ganges, had afforded me great delight, and I already began to think how little the cities, country, and rivers of India—its inhabitants, their character, and condition—were known to those Europeans whose observation was confined to Calcutta or other maritime stations.

We continued all the next day, and the greater part of the following one, in the same fine nullah. It was a large stream, flowing nearly parallel to the Ganges, and was often full almost to the borders of the fields and mangoe groves which lined its verdant banks. Our progress along it was extremely pleasant, and at the same time more rapid and safe than it would have

been in the great river, the current being less strong and smoother. The only objection to this delightful digression was a little uncertainty there appeared to be of our being able to regain the great river. My manjir, however, observed that the present state of the nullah indicated its connection with the Ganges higher up, and that we were sure of getting out. I remarked on this occasion, and on many others that occurred subsequently, that my head boatman was perfectly acquainted with the navigation of the Ganges, in which he had been engaged many years. He was a respectable old man of about fifty, for at fifty a man begins to get old in India. The General had also very experienced pilots on board his boats.

The rides I took along the borders of this charming Indian stream, here without a name, though as large as some of the principal rivers of Europe, were most agreeable. Its charms added to the pleasantness of our evening parties, the fleet being perfectly safe, and the windows of our boats being upon a level with the well-cultivated country. Indeed the whole of the voyage hitherto had been prosperous. The sky cloudy, with rain at short intervals, and a fine breeze from the south, we had not suffered inconvenience from the heat, nor been obliged to have recourse to our track-ropes, excepting when the wind happened to fall off towards the evening, or the windings of the Cossimbazar river precluded the use of sails. We had, moreover, reached the great river and passed it without accident, notwithstanding the large number of boats composing the fleet. Nor was there any sickness amongst the crews, nor in the detachment which formed the guard. These circumstances exhilarated the Commander-in-chief. He expressed himself much pleased with the voyage, and kept his company about him to a late hour, conversing, playing at cards, in which I in my turn was invited to join, or sitting or walking upon the spacious roof of the pinnace, receiving cooling refreshments there, or the incomparable mocha from the hands of the respectable follower of Zoroaster.

Having continued to mount the nullah during two days, we came to an opening by which we emerged once more into the Ganges, which I saw again with pleasure, although our progress on it was not likely to be so expeditious or quiet as in the smooth rivulet. We had not gone far before the General's pinnace was seen leading the way across the river. What the reason was for this manœuvre I did not know at the time, but found afterwards that it was to gratify the desire of His Excellency to see Rajmehal, a city not far distant, on the opposite bank. As before, the small or round-bottomed boats, having no side sails to oppose to the current, were carried some way down the river, but having the advantage in tracking, regained the pinnaces soon after the arrival of the latter at Rajmehal, where the General stopped early in the afternoon.

Rajmehal is, like Hoogley and Nuddea, an instance either of the singular instability which has attended the imperial cities of India, or of the great number of years which must have elapsed during the successive elevation of so many cities or towns to the rank of capitals of the empire, and their subsequent decline to their former inferiority or insignificance, their celebrated gardens and orange trees entirely disappearing, and the romantic magnificence of their palaces discoverable in the extent alone of their ruins. In India, where history is so imperfect and tradition so contradictory, it required more time than my official avocations permitted me, to devote to such researches, to trace in each case the character of this extraordinary rise and fall; to say whether the change occupied a long series of years, or was a sudden transition dependent upon the taste or caprice of the reigning prince. For it is evident that each of these principles had its influence, some of the ancient seats of government which I saw attesting a lapse of years scarcely reconcilable with *our* notions of time, while the ephemeral glory of others rendered it presumable that, called into existence by the versatility of a despotic sovereign, they perished with, or perhaps before, the founder of their celebrity.

It is certain that Rajmehal was once a vast city, the capital of Bengal, but the duration of its pre-eminence is involved in the obscurity which covers the transactions of this distant period. Truth can hardly be expected where the history of a nation is traced with the sword of a conqueror or by a hand enfettered with the chains of subjection. Thus little dependence can be placed on the accounts of Bengal previous to the Mahomedan conquest, whether subsequently related by a Mussulman or a Hindoo. I have conversed with learned persons of both these classes upon the state and institutions of India at this period, without being able to obtain any clear information from either, the real ignorance of the latter and the pretended knowledge of the former leading equally away from truth. But while a Mussulman refers with exultation to the triumph of Mahomed, first of the Ghiznean emperors, the lapse of 800 years has not obliterated from the tradition of the Hindoos the horrors which followed the standard of this Indian Attila, who descended from the north of Hindostan to subjugate an unoffending and defenceless nation of the south. This inglorious conquest was marked with all the abuses characteristic of triumphant fanaticism. An army, although it may be too feeble to defend a country, may serve to concentrate the wrath of an enemy and divert it from the general population. But the Hindoos probably had no army to afford them even this protection. Their destruction was extensive and indiscriminate, their religion was insulted, their places of worship destroyed, or, crowned with domes and minarets, allowed a partial and deformed existence to perpetuate their degradation. It is at this epoch that we come to a line of shade beyond which no object is distinctly discernible. What treasures might not be discovered if the light of science should ever penetrate this darkness! But reasonable conjecture is allowed where certainty is not attainable, and some persons have surmised that Rajmehal was once the capital, not of Bengal alone, but of the greater part of India; while others, going still further, believe it was no less than the

celebrated city of Palibothra, the great eastern metropolis in the time of Alexander, and whose situation has long been the enigma of oriental topography.

Although now scarcely able to judge of the pretensions of Rajmehal to this historical distinction, it was most interesting to see a place to which such a supposition was attached, and which was unquestionably the residence of some of the princes of Bengal at a later period, and especially of Sujah Khan, commonly called Sultan Sujah, second son of the Emperor Shah Jehan. This prince lived here in all the splendour of an eastern court, till led to engage in the unnatural contest which took place between the four sons of Shah Jehan for the usurpation of their father's throne. His youngest brother, the celebrated Aurungzebe, having succeeded in possessing himself of the imperial musnud, Sujah Khan, retiring from the field of battle, hoped to find an asylum in the distant city which he had long distinguished by his predilection and enriched by his munificence. But the jealous and perhaps justified prudence of Aurungzebe did not long allow him this repose. He was obliged to quit a capital which probably felt and returned his attachment. Pursued into the southern parts of the province, he could not but learn that neither tranquillity nor personal safety was to be expected within the circle of his former power and perhaps of his present influence, and ultimately retired to end his days, I know not how, beyond the western limits of Bengal. As this is the first occasion on which I mention Aurungzebe, a prince who fills so distinguished a place in the history of India, it is well to observe that he begins his career by driving his father from his throne and his brother from his country.

Rajmehal is situated upon high ground commanding a noble and extensive view of the Ganges. At a short distance to the west of the city is a range of hills called the Rajmehal hills. It is the commencement of a line of mountainous country which extends in a north-west direction many hundred miles,

not terminating till it reaches Rundelcund, a province to the west of the point where the Jumna falls into the Ganges. Few of the palaces and gardens for which Rajmehal was once so famous now exist, but the dilapidated remains of these visible along the bank of the river and towards the interior excite admiration and regret, affording evidence of the great extent and splendour of the ancient city and of its subsequent decline. The edifice which had suffered least was a fine palace near the northern extremity of the city. It was built upon the highest part of the lofty bank, which here rose perpendicularly above the river, the course of which it commanded till the view was bounded by the horizon. I walked about its spacious courts and entered some of the numerous apartments still remaining. These were naked and neglected, and seemed to owe their preservation from total ruin to the massive solidity of their structure. Recollecting this palace when passing Rajmehal some years after, I stopped before it, and moving my cot, chairs, and table into a large hall which fronted the water, I passed two days within these deserted walls.

The ruins of Rajmehal being the most remarkable of any that are to be found in this part of India, I never passed this city without visiting them. If the great capital of which they are the unquestionable remains were really the long-sought Palibothra, and the Macedonian conqueror had realised his design of extending his arms so far, he certainly would have found a city worthy of his ambition. Once as I wandered amongst these ruins I was near meeting with a serious accident. I was walking in one of the ancient streets, with an old wall on my right and a deserted building on my left, when a large couvre-capelle darted from the bottom of the wall, passed close before me, and entered a hole under the opposite building. A step farther and I should have been upon it. As it was I was within its reach, and accordingly had reason to consider my escape providential.

At the usual early hour the next morning the fleet continued its course. On passing Moorshedabad we had been joined by

several boats destined for the interior, and now at Rajmehal had received a more considerable accession, being joined by a fleet of salt-boats coming from the Sunderbunds, and by other boats from the lower parts of the great river towards Dacca, Tipperah, and Chittagong. Our fleet, with these additions, could not comprise less than 180 or 200 boats. So many sail, extended over the surface of so fine a river, and advancing against its impetuous stream, presented a beautiful sight. On the same side as Rajmehal, and not far distant, was the ancient city of Tannah, or rather, probably, the *site* on which it stood, for, from such information as I could obtain, but little of the city itself remained. It was the imperial residence in Bengal in the reigns of the Emperor Shere Shah about the year 1542, and of Acbar towards the close of the same century ; but as it is not mentioned as having been the seat of government under the intervening emperors, it seems probable that it was not the *established* metropolis of that period, but rather a temporary retreat of the princes of Rajmehal, or perhaps only a hunting residence, for which the vicinity of a hilly and jungly tract of country would render it more suitable than for a populous capital.

On the opposite or eastern side of the river we passed the entrance of the Coosy, though it was scarcely distinguishable in the immense expanse of water which extended in this direction. It is difficult to measure the surface of water by the eye, and indeed the width of the Ganges here, and in some other parts in the rainy season, is not to be estimated by its *apparent* greatness, the banks of the river at this time of the year being often overflowed to a considerable distance. The Burrampooter for sixty miles before its junction with the Ganges is three miles wide, and I should think that the Ganges was not much less in the part I am describing, measuring from the edge of the water on both sides. I remarked, as I rode one morning upon the western bank, that I could see the smoke rising from the pile which was consuming the corpse of a Hindoo without perceiving distinctly the pile itself or any object near it. It must be considered, however,

that the waters of the Coosy undoubtedly contributed much to the magnificent expansion of the Ganges at this point. It is one of the largest of the streams tributary to the great river, and is estimated as equal to the Rhine—a fact which alone, if true, is a sufficient comment upon the description of the Ganges by Virgil, who, while he renders *one* justice to this river in calling it *beautiful* ("pulcher Ganges"), asserts its inferiority to the rivers of Italy, *all* of which united would hardly form the Indian stream.

But a safer boast of the Coosy is its having borne upon its banks a more ancient, extensive, and populous city than ever adorned its rival stream in Europe. During the ages through which the waters of the Coosy have continued their unabated course, the walls of a vast city have been built, have been the residence of kings, and have nearly disappeared. A new city bearing a new name now occupies the site where ancient Gour stood. All India bears infallible traces of a remote antiquity, but nowhere perhaps is this evidence more striking than in the instance of Gour. Gour was the capital of Bengal 800 years before the birth of Christ, and perhaps at a much earlier period. Its population is not known, but its ruins extended ten miles along the shores of the Coosy, and it is said to have contained as many shops for the sale of betel[1] as the celebrated city of Canouje,—another ancient capital in the north of India which time has swept away, leaving as the best evidence of its immense population the singular tradition that 30,000 shops were daily open for the supply of the inhabitants with betel. A traveller in India may almost be said to tread upon ancient cities.

When Gour was the capital of Bengal, Gouroo was the name of the country. The Coosy, it appears, *then* flowed into the Ganges twenty miles below the present point of junction, or nearly opposite to Rajmehal, and it is this circumstance principally

[1] A delicate aromatic plant, the leaf of which is eaten, or rather *chewed*, with the nut of the areca-tree, and a small quantity of fine chunam or pulverised shells enveloped in it. The natives of all ranks are extremely fond of this *quid*.

which has led some persons to think that the latter city was the ancient Palibothra. I shall have a better occasion for saying more on this question. The modern town by which Gour has been replaced is Maldah. It possesses a considerable manufacture of silk and cotton goods, and the East India Company have a factory here for the providing of these articles.

Having passed various villages situated generally a short distance from the river, one of which was Oudenullah, on the eastern bank, thirty miles from Rajmehal, we approached, after a pleasant voyage of three days, first Sicrigully, and next Terriagully. These are two *straits* about twenty miles from each other, where the Ganges is confined to a much narrower passage by two bold projections of the western shore, here high, rocky, and covered with wood. This is one of the finest parts of the Ganges in all its course. The romantic character of the surrounding scenery accords with the fearful rapidity and agitation with which the river rushes by these bold obstructions, and produces a combination of the sublime and terrific truly imposing. It is not surprising that this part should be considered dangerous, and that accidents should sometimes happen. Small boats mounting the stream are here exposed to the danger of being run down by the immense patileh boats from the upper country laden with cotton, and which are carried through these straits with a force over which they seem to have little control, and which would be fatal to any boat of inferior size they might encounter.

We passed Sicrigully without accident, but in a long and spacious reach between the two passes we were less fortunate. The wind being strong against the current, the waves were so high that the boats with square sails and without keels rolled very much. I could perceive several near me whose gunwales seemed as if they would be under water every minute. My budgerow was very wide, and consequently pretty safe for a round-bottomed boat, and yet as she rolled the waves came almost up to my windows.

It was while we were proceeding thus that an unusual bustle upon my deck, and a cry that a boat was sinking, made me run to the roof, from which I saw at some distance astern a boat much on one side. She seemed, however, to right again, and I concluded she was saved, but soon perceived, to my great surprise, that she was sinking. At this moment I saw another boat not far from her that was sinking also. The hulls of both went down nearly at the same time, leaving only the roofs, upon which the people were collected, and the masts above water. Presently the masts alone were visible, sinking gradually. There were no men upon them, but upon the waves astern I could distinctly perceive several, whom I supposed to be attempting to save themselves upon the boats which followed. This seemed, indeed, their only chance, and the extreme rapidity of the stream rendered it evidently a very slight one. It appeared possible that such as were good swimmers might, by following the current, and inclining gradually across it, reach the shore; but my people thought less of this possibility than I did, being of opinion that the greater part of the unfortunate men must have perished. Certainly in such a fleet of English boats almost all would have been saved. The stern boats would have lowered their sails, and have rowed after such men as they had not been able to pick up in passing. But I saw no efforts of this kind, and the usual apathy of the natives on such occasions probably prevented their being made. And yet the appearance of the sinking boats, and of so many human beings struggling for their lives, was a most painful spectacle, and brought to my recollection the scene of the poor seaman astern of the *Ponsborne*.

The northern part of the strait above mentioned forms the northern boundary of Bengal, which is thus comprised between a line passing through this point and extending from the Bootan hills, beyond the Burrampooter, to the east, to the Ramghur hills to the west, and a line parallel to the above, passing along the top of the Bay of Bengal from the confines of Chittagong, where it touches the frontier of the kingdom of

Ava, to the limits of the Midnapore district, westward of Calcutta. This fine country, enjoying a rich productive soil and watered by numerous rivers, is divided into several districts, the principal of which are—Burdwan, Nuddea, Rajishye, Burlhoom, Midnapore, Jessore, Dinagepore, etc. The principal modern cities are Calcutta, Moorshedabad, and Dacca, besides numerous large towns, equal in size and population to many cities, and even capitals, of Europe. It comprehends also the foreign settlements of Chinsurah, Chandernagore, Serampore, and Bandel, bearing the flags of Holland, France, Denmark, and Portugal—as if this peopled and fertile region had been an unappropriated waste on which every nation might plant its standard and take a share.

Its population consists almost exclusively of Hindoos: a quiet, inoffensive, industrious, submissive people, possessing little energy, less courage, and no ambition; concerning themselves not much about their own government, and not at all about the government of any other country; more frugal and abstemious than any other nation, and perhaps equal to any other nation, not in enlightened acquirements or refined precepts of philosophy, but in natural capacity and practical morality; attached, above all things, to their religion, which is always before them, from the uprising of the sun to the going down of the same—it enters into all the concerns of their daily life, it regulates the minutest detail of their domestic affairs. They feel, not an impetuous, ostentatious enthusiasm, but a quiet yet deeply profound sentiment of passive devotion, which excluding, unhappily, the light of reflection and reason, perpetuates from age to age, and from generation to generation, the errors and extravagances of a primeval superstition. But multiplied and impenetrable as seem to be the defences which thus encompass and preserve the prejudices of the Hindoos, there can be no doubt that these will at last give way to the persuasive influence of Christian communication and instruction, if duly seconded by the impressive effect of *Christian*

example; provided that this great and desirable work, this best result of our dominion in the East, be not frustrated by acts of impatient zeal or *offensive* interference.

The revenues of Bengal are stated in the *Ayeen Acbaree*, a statistical account of the empire in the time of Acbar, at 149 lacs of rupees.[1] They were 142 lacs in the time of Sujah Khan, and had increased to 197 lacs under the Company's administration in 1778.

The first considerable place we passed after leaving the Strait of Terriagully was Colgong, pleasantly situated between the base of some small hills on our left and a fine nullah, into which the General's pinnace led the fleet the second day. The jungles which cover these eminences contain a great quantity and variety of game, and particularly the common fowl in its wild state. To judge by the value set upon it by sportsmen, our old acquaintance does not seem to have gained much by its introduction to the farmyard.

We came-to this evening at a very picturesque spot near a bungalow. I here bought a camelion that was brought on board my boat in a small cage, about which it moved in the most slow and slothful manner, so as to be some minutes in getting from one side of it to the other. Another singularity was the conformation and use of its tongue. This was about four or five inches long, and was rolled up in its mouth. When within reach of its prey, though still at a distance that would take some time to reach it, it darted forth its tongue and seized the insect, generally a grasshopper, with the forceps with which this formidable weapon was armed at the end. There can be no doubt that the power of assuming the colour of the objects near it, as well as the construction of its tongue, were bestowed upon this animal to compensate the slowness of its march and enable it to procure its food.

The next day we passed Banghulpore, commonly called Boglipore, a considerable town, which gives its name both to the

[1] A lac of rupees is about £10,000.

district and to the nullah on which we were proceeding. A large white house upon the right bank of this nullah belonged to the same officer as the bungalow near which we had stopped the preceding evening. Its former occupier was Mr. Cleveland, an excellent administrator of the country, who considered the rights of the inhabitants committed to his care, as well as the interests of Government; a just and praiseworthy example which I hoped I might endeavour to follow if I should ever be placed in a similar situation. Boglipore was another of the places at which the tobacco plant was cultivated on its first introduction into India. The now general dispersion and use of this plant show how much may be effected by attention and activity in such attempts, and should serve as a precedent for the choice and trial of other productions more unequivocally conducive to the happiness of the people. The country of Boglipore is high, varied, and pleasant, but the soil being indifferent, the district is not rich either in revenue or population. The nullah joining the Ganges at each extremity, we came out at its northern end after a very pleasant voyage through it.

Soon after re-entering the great river we passed Sultangunge on the western bank, and near it a small island consisting of a rock of a conical form and considerable height.[1] It bears many trees and shrubs, whether planted by nature or art I could not tell—by both probably. Had such an island existed in the Thames or Severn in former times it would undoubtedly have been taken possession of by the Druids; and one cannot therefore be surprised that the Bramins, the Druids of India, should have fixed their temples on this inviting spot, washed on every side by their sacred river. Its embowered recesses have probably been the scene of many a fact or fable in the traditions of a credulous people; but I had no opportunity of

[1] I always call the *right* bank of the Ganges the *western*, although it may not always be strictly so, as where the river flows in rather an easterly direction.

informing myself of these. I understood that a faquir of celebrity resided near the summit, and that he and the island were much visited by pious Hindoos, though the violence with which the Ganges breaks against it renders it of difficult access in the rainy season. Although a picturesque object, it is a serious obstruction to the navigation of the river. Boats descending are liable to be carried against it, while it almost stops the towage along the western bank, the space between it and the shore being bristled with pointed rocks. When, therefore, boats have not wind enough to *sail* by the island, they generally cross the river and tow up on the other side.

In two days more we reached Monghir, a fortress of great antiquity, and formerly extensive and strong, but now extensive only, its walls, though still existing, being in an impaired state, and quite incapable of defence against heavy artillery. In former times it was the occasional residence of the subahs of Bengal, and being the strongest post in this part of India, commanding the entrance to Bengal towards the north, there can be no doubt but its military history, could it be known, would disclose many important occurrences. It afforded a momentary refuge to Cossim Ally when driven from Moorshedabad, but was attacked by Major Adams, the able successor of Colonel Clive, and delivered up to him on the 2nd October 1762. Within its great circuit are many handsome houses, bungalows, and quarters for soldiers, there being a station for half-pay or invalided officers and men, who form a little garrison, sufficient at least for the protection of a dépôt of military stores, and of a powder magazine established there. The latter was said to cause, sometimes, no little uneasiness to the veterans, accustomed as they were to gunpowder. For the most vivid lightning often falls about Monghir, attracted by the iron ore which abounds in the neighbouring hills, and if it fell upon the magazine the whole fort would certainly be destroyed by the explosion. This ore, however, notwithstanding this inconvenience, is more precious than gold to the industrious inhabitants of Monghir.

sustaining by its abundant and cheap supplies an extensive manufactory of iron utensils of almost every description. A traveller from Europe is surprised to see presented to him for sale in the interior of India, knives and forks, saucepans, grid-irons, and tea-kettles, which would not discredit an ironmonger's shop in London. Numbers of these articles were brought to the shore opposite the windows of our boats, and formed a little bazaar there. Nor were purchasers wanting, some buying from motives of curiosity or encouragement, of convenience others, and some, perhaps, among the native merchants of the fleet, for speculation. But it is not the kitchen alone that Monghir is able to supply, possessing an excellent fabrication of cabinet ware,— chairs, tables, sofas, cots, bedsteads, drawers etc.,— all made of a handsome black wood resembling ebony. The chairs and sofas, in particular, with cane bottoms, are extremely neat, and scarcely inferior to the European models after which they are made. The commerce of Monghir in these articles is very extensive, and must increase as the European population of India, or the adoption of European habits by the native population, increases. The Ganges affords a cheap and expeditious transport, by boats not fully laden, or return boats, to every part of Bengal, or to the military stations of the northern provinces.

Having heard of a celebrated hot well in the neighbourhood, called Seetacoon, I procured a guide, and mounting my tanyan at gunfire, directed my morning ride towards it. The distance was about eight miles, by a road pleasantly winding amidst small hills. It seemed possible that the bushes and underwood which covered these might conceal a tiger, but, as my guide said nothing, I concluded there was no danger and went on. When half-way I found that the sun would be too high before my return. I therefore took the direction of the road, and cantered on alone. I found the well without difficulty. It consisted of a basin of water a few feet square, supplied by a bubbling source at the bottom. Some fragments of brickwork seemed to imply that it was once in a state of less neglect than

at present. It probably was protected against injurious aggression by a wall, or had a temple dedicated to Seeta, or baths attached to it. I had no means of ascertaining the heat, but my guide, when he arrived, said it was sufficient to boil an egg in a very short time,—a fact I could easily conceive, for I could not keep my hand in the water for a moment. No mineral quality was discoverable in it either by the taste or by the external appearance of the ground over which it flowed away. Its principal virtue was its purity and consequent wholesomeness, and also its property of remaining good for a great length of time in casks or bottles. For these reasons it is not only much drunk by the wealthier inhabitants of Monghir, or such as can afford to send for it, but is often despatched to Calcutta for the use of persons about to undertake a long sea voyage. On these occasions it is either sent off in large jars, or in bottles filled at the spring. I was told that in the latter case it would preserve its tasteless purity for more than a twelvemonth. Recollecting, when I heard this, the offensive water of the ship on my way to India, I resolved, if it pleased God that I ever returned to England, I would take with me a few dozens of the water of Seetacoon. I was much gratified with my visit to this Indian spring, and only regretted I had not a bottle to fill for the General, but he tasted it at the table of the commanding-officer, General Briscoe, by whom he and all the party were entertained in great style.

General Briscoe was the oldest General in the Company's service, and his manner of living was in the old style of Indian hospitality and sumptuousness—qualities which had been partly superseded of late years by the greater simplicity and economy of European habits, with too little attention, perhaps, to the established ideas and usages of the country, whose vast population it is our policy to conciliate, particularly in trifling matters, involving no moral wrong.

In my morning's ride I met the old General on horseback, and was surprised to see him followed by a train of horses all

saddled and bridled with much show, and each led by his syce or keeper, handsomely dressed. He invited me to ride with him, and afterwards to accompany him to his house and breakfast with him, which I did. He had a noble mansion, situated upon the summit of a small hill within the fort, near the lower angle. It commanded a beautiful view of the river and of the country opposite, and also of the small bay in which our fleet was moored. All boats proceeding up the river were here obliged to cross to the other side, opposite the fort, in order to avoid a bastion which advanced into the river, and opposing the current, here very strong, threw it off with a violence that made it impossible for any boat to pass on this side. The passage of the boats across this strong current formed a lively scene from the General's verandah. Talking while at breakfast about the lightning so common and so terrific at Monghir, the General told me that during a ball he lately gave, the lightning struck the house and put out every one of the numerous lights affixed to the walls of the ballroom without breaking any of the glass shades which surrounded them, or causing any other inconvenience than frightening the ladies and breaking up the dance.

To-day the Commander-in-chief and his party dined with General Ellerker at an elegant mansion situated upon the summit of a hill near the river, about two miles from the fort. The name of Belvidere, given to this charming villa, was justly deserved by the extraordinary beauty of its situation. The Ganges, escaping from the gorge on which Monghir stands, assumes the expanse of a lake, bearing on its northern extremity the picturesque battlements of the fort, and bounded to the west by an amphitheatre of verdant hills. The current being thrown on the opposite side by the bastion above mentioned, and by the southern angle of the fortress, all boats ascending the stream keep near the western shore, passing almost under General Ellerker's windows; while the great cotton and other boats, coming suddenly into view from behind the fort, and

borne rapidly across the middle of the bay, impart incessant animation to this fine river scene.

This visit afforded me another amusement. The General's lady was a great bird-fancier, and had here, it was said, the best private collection of Indian birds. Several rooms were nearly full of them, some in large cages formed by enclosing a part of the room, some in portable cages varying in size and construction, and scarcely less curious than their beautiful prisoners. Numerous parrots from different parts of India, and speaking, I suppose, different languages, were upon stands. I saw the bulbul or Indian nightingale, so celebrated in Eastern poetry; the baya, no less celebrated in Eastern romance, where it is said that a ring being dropped into a well it will dart from the finger of its mistress and restore it to her before its reaching the water; also the tootoo, or mocking bird, the rival of the jay and magpie of British groves. Many of these birds I had not seen before, and some of them were said to be rare even in their natural state.

But I contemplated this beautiful assemblage with other impressions than those of admiration alone. When far from our native country no objects have such an interest as those which remind us of our friends. I could not but think on this occasion of my good mother, who was also extremely fond of birds, nor help wishing that I could send her one or two from this collection. Embarrassing as such a selection would have been, I believe my choice would have fallen upon the loory, in form resembling a bullfinch, but more than double the size. Its plumage was a brilliant red, diversified with an infinite variety of shade, according to the light in which it was seen. And yet its beauty was almost less remarkable than its captivating docility and intelligence. I once possessed one of these birds, having bought it to send to my mother. It would lie upon the back of my hand, placing itself first on one side, then on the other, sometimes on its back, performing numerous gentle and fascinating tricks in an extraordinary manner. The Captain, to

whom I entrusted it, allowed it to fly away when within a few days' sail of England.

The loory comes from the islands in the Straits of Malacca, and, when choice, sells at a great price at Calcutta; its amusing, caressing playfulness rendering it a much esteemed present from a nabob to the favourite of his seraglio.

There was nothing very particular in our voyage from Monghir to Patna, a distance of about 100 miles, which we should probably have accomplished in four or five days but for a violent gale of wind which stopped us at Bar, a town on the right bank of the river rather more than half-way. The day that it came on I happened to be some way behind, and was unable to join the General that day. The next day, with some difficulty, I recovered my station a little astern of the General's pinnaces, and dined on board as usual; but the force of the wind and current acting in the same direction had separated the fleet, and diminished our numbers at table. Several of the boats were far astern, and quite unable to move towards us. Amongst these were Colonel Palmer's large pinnace, and the budgerow of his son, Captain Palmer. We could obtain no information about them, and did not see them again during the remainder of the voyage.

It rained and blew very hard, and we were in a long reach which afforded no shelter. The General's pinnaces were obliged to moor at a little distance from the shore to prevent their beating against it. Although secured here by double anchors and long ropes taken to the bank, they seemed by no means safe. But pelting and pitiless as the storm was, it did not abate the cheerfulness of our evening party, nor shorten its duration. I came away in the General's bouleah or long rowing boat with the rest of the company, and although the night was very dark and the current very strong, we all got safely to our respective quarters. In the night I was unwell with fever, and not being better in the morning, I was induced to send for Dr. Laird, who desired me to remain in bed. I was following his advice when,

early in the forenoon, my servants came to tell me that the Commander-in-chief was coming towards my budgerow. I had scarcely recovered from my surprise before I heard the General's voice, and he soon after entered my cabin attended by Colonel Auchmuty. He said that having heard from Dr. Laird that I was unwell he was come to see me. I could not but feel deeply this instance of kindness and condescension, particularly as the state of the weather subjected such a visit to considerable inconvenience, and even to some degree of danger. The General, finding I was better, sat some time by the side of my bed, evidently for the purpose of amusing me in my confinement. On retiring he enjoined his servants to bring me whatever I wanted.

Two days after the storm had so much abated that we were able to advance a little by means of our track-ropes. In the evening of this day I resumed my place on board the dining pinnace. The western bank along which we now moved presented a fine well-cultivated country. It formed part of the extensive district of Behar, commencing below Bar and terminating at the Soane. Some years after, under the Government of the Marquis Wellesley, I was appointed judge of this country.

In two days and a half more, coasting along the same district, we reached the great city of Patna, where the same trouble in passing the tow ropes which we had experienced at Moorshedabad again delayed us a great deal, the boats extending two miles along the shore, so that it was late in the afternoon before we reached the upper end of the city, where the English officers of the station resided. I immediately called upon Mr. Grindall, a respectable gentleman whom I had known in Calcutta, and accepted his invitation to spend two or three days with him, as the Commander-in-chief expected to be detained that time at Dinapore, a large military station a few miles above the city.

The country we had entered on passing the proper limits of Bengal was not inferior to the latter in culture or population,

while for salubrity and pleasantness it was far superior. Being more elevated, it is not so subject to inundation as Bengal, and the atmosphere consequently is more dry and healthy. It was always considered one of the most fertile and delightful divisions of India: the *terra numine deum electa.* It comprises the country between Bengal and Benares, comprehending the district through which we had just passed, of which Ghya is the principal station; the royal districts of Rotasghur and Shahabad, the favourite residence of some of the emperors, and of which Sasseram was the ancient capital, and the fortress of Rotas the defence; and Tirhoot and Sircar Sarun; the two latter on the opposite side of the Ganges. The name of this unrivalled country implies its charms. It is called Behar, a word signifying spring, the poetical season of India, as of other countries:

Come lovely spring, ethereal mildness come,

is the song of *all* nations.

The capital of this favoured region is Patna, situated on the right bank of the Ganges, 400 miles above Calcutta. The river flowing here from west to east, the whole front of the city faces the north, looking beyond the Ganges over the district of Tirhoot, remarkable for its healthiness and for its fine indigo. The superiority of this is such as to command a surer sale and a higher price than any other indigo in the markets of Europe, excepting, I believe, that of Manilla. The consequence is that many Europeans, English principally, are settled in this district as indigo planters and manufacturers. Still farther to the north, beyond Tirhoot, are visible, at certain seasons, and in a favourable state of the atmosphere, the snowy mountains of Thibet. I once enjoyed, very distinctly, this extraordinary sight; for singular it was to look upon these snowy peaks from the sultry plains of Hindostan. Speaking of this scene, Colonel Skelly said that he could hardly help stretching out his finger for a drop of water to cool his tongue.

I was glad that the detention of the Commander-in-chief afforded me so favourable an opportunity of seeing one of the most ancient and distinguished Asiatic cities, for Patna disputes with Rajmehal and Allahabad the honour of being Palibothra itself. I will hereafter state the ground on which this pretension rests. Less equivocal is the fact that Patna has been from time immemorial the capital of Behar, and that it is still one of the most extensive and populous cities of the East, reaching more than three miles along the shore of the Ganges, and containing more than 300,000 inhabitants. The principal street, which runs the whole length of the city, parallel to the river, was crowded with people. Some of the largest bazaars being in this street, it presented a very lively appearance, especially in the evening, the principal time of business. The fronts of the shops were now crowded with customers buying cloth, beads, trinkets, cowries, rice, of which there were many sorts, and other grain, roasted Indian corn, and ghee, a certain preparation of milk resembling rancid butter, largely used by the natives of all ranks in their curries, in the proper making of which it is held to be an essential ingredient.

The population consisted of Mussulmen and Hindoos. The latter, however, had a different costume from the inhabitants of Bengal, and the difference as to physiognomy and deportment was still more observable, these being much more animated, and having a certain military air. The language too which I heard was no longer the soft Bengalee, but the guttural Hindostanee. Having been in the habit of speaking this language with my moonshy and some of my servants, I had no difficulty in making myself understood. I accordingly indulged myself in the pleasure of conversing with this new people, whom I found as civil as intelligent, and willingly communicative on the local subjects of their country.

I met in this street several persons of rank in covered two-wheel carriages drawn by pairs of bullocks of extraordinary size, their bodies covered with fringed cloth, and their

immense horns painted green, and tipped with gold. The person sat upon cushions under a canopy of conical form, with curtains on each side, which he could open or close. Some were in richly-ornamented palanquins, with numerous attendants running before and on each side. One of these great men as he was carried along smoked through a large tube, or snake, as it was called, eight or ten feet long, which curled in several circles from an apparatus containing lighted spices and tobacco, and a vessel of water, through which the smoke passed by means of a simple but scientific contrivance to be purified and cooled. This machine a man running by the side of the palanquin carried in his hands. The gentleman with whom I resided living at the end of the street where these scenes were passing, I had a good opportunity of observing them from the gate of the enclosure. I also rode about the city in the morning, and walked up and down the great street in the evening, when the innumerable lamps suspended over the goods spread upon large mats before the shops had the appearance of an illumination. So different were many things that I saw from what I had hitherto seen, that I almost seemed to be arrived in a new country. There was an unmixed genuineness of manners, accompanied with a profusion of show and parade, to which the streets of Madras and Calcutta offered nothing similar. Great as the crowd was between seven and nine in the evening, and composed of persons professing religions so opposed to each other, there was not the slightest disorder, a remark I had already made in the towns of Bengal, and which may, I believe, be extended to every town in India, however numerous and mixed its population.

The rich inhabitants seemed to reside in the part between the great street and the river. I here saw several palaces of extensive but irregular and inelegant construction. In the same line, but towards the upper or western end, were some houses of European form, belonging to officers of the Company's Government. The gentleman who had charge of the revenues

of this part of the country had his treasury and residence here. Here also was a factory of the Company, principally for the supply of the calicoes and chintzes, for which the looms of Patna, and of the country contiguous, are famous. The Company have also an agent here for procuring saltpetre, of which Behar furnishes the principal supply which England receives for her fleets and armies. The principal part also of the opium manufactured on account of the East India Company, who derive a great profit from supplying the passion of the Chinese for this narcotic poison, is made here and in the surrounding district. With all these advantages it is probable that the condition of Patna is as flourishing now as when the city possessed more political importance as the seat of government.[1] Its situation, indeed, is calculated to ensure its prosperity. It is the centre of Behar, and is consequently the convenient emporium and mart of the productions of that rich province; while its position on the Ganges, half-way between the northern districts and the sea, commands the commerce of that river between these distant extremities.

In the year 1759 Ally Gohur, the heir apparent to the throne of Dehli, having crossed the Caramnassa and the Soane on his way to Bengal, and invested Patna, this city would probably have fallen into his hands, but for the activity of Lord Clive, who, by forced marches, reached it on the 10th April of the same year, and entered it in triumph. Patna having subsequently been occupied by Cossim Ally on his retreat from Bengal, after his deposition by the English Government, as already stated, was invested by Major Adams in October 1762, and taken by him by storm on the 5th November following. During this short siege, and particularly, as I have heard, towards its close, before the flight of Cossim Ally, great cruelties were committed by this prince, and by his general, Sounoo, upon the English, and, no doubt, perhaps even in a

[1] In former times Behar, then called Magadha, was a separate kingdom, of which Patna, then also bearing another name, was the capital.

greater proportion on their native adherents, though in the English accounts of these events the English sufferers are almost exclusively mentioned.

I have listened to many relations upon this subject, one differing from another, and all probably from the truth, so difficult it is to obtain *accurate* information upon events, even of recent occurrence. The common story at Patna was that 200 English were put to death at a feast given by Cossim Ally, or by one of the partisans of that prince; but it seems scarcely probable that, at the period in question, the number of English at Patna could have amounted to 200, and improbable that they would have the desire and the imprudence to meet together at a feast during the disorder and irritation of the siege of the place by a British army. Nor does it seem probable that Cossim Ally would adopt a stratagem likely to excite suspicion and facilitate resistance, and which, indeed, the defenceless position of these unfortunate men rendered quite unnecessary. Their destruction was but too easy, probably the more easy, without their being assembled together.

Cossim Ally retreated to the strong fortress of Rotas, in Shahabad, where he had deposited his treasures, and having taken them away proceeded to the city of Sasseram in the same district.

The wall which formerly surrounded Patna is now so dilapidated that in a few years it will probably disappear entirely. It would certainly afford but little resistance to the means of modern warfare, but it might be sufficient to defend the city against a predatory incursion of Mahrattah or Pindarree cavalry, to which its vicinity to an unprotected part of our frontier seemed to expose it.

Upon an open piece of ground at the western end of the city, near Mr. Grindall's house, I saw a large building of conical form, intended for the deposit of grain in seasons of alarming scarcity. Though utility and not elegance was the object of this structure, it is admired for the symmetry of its form, for

which, however, the half of an egg, cut across the smaller diameter, is said to have served for a model. A flight of steps is carried round the outside to a small opening at the top, where the grain is poured in, a door being placed at the bottom for its delivery. It was empty when I saw it, being filled only when, from a deficiency of the crops, a famine was apprehended. Although the appearance of this building suggested to the mind the numbers who must perish rather than the few who could be saved amongst starving millions, praise was due to Government for the humanity of its intentions.[1]

After passing three days very pleasantly at Patna, hearing that the Commander-in-chief was about to leave Dinapore, I sent my boats on to that place, and the next morning early I proceeded on my little horse to join them. Dinapore is a large military station ten miles from Patna. The barracks and public buildings, though not so regular as at Berhampore, are on a more extensive scale. A large division of the army, consisting of a European regiment and several battalions of sepoys, with detachments of the artillery and engineers, is generally stationed here. The practice of fixing our troops so near the principal cities seems to indicate some distrust of our native subjects, and undoubtedly the time is yet distant when prudence will allow such precaution to be dispensed with, particularly amidst the intrepid population of this part of our possessions.

This morning, 24th August, His Excellency resumed his voyage. Towards the middle of the day the weather was extremely hot and oppressive, the thermometer of Fahrenheit in my room marking 99½°. Having heard at Patna that a ship would soon sail for England, I wrote to my father.

About nineteen miles from Dinapore we arrived at the mouth of the Soane, a fine river, interesting from many circumstances, and amongst others for its classical celebrity as the Andamatis of the Greeks and the Souns of Pliny. It was the first con-

[1] Cost £12,000. Wall at bottom twenty feet thick.

siderable river that we had passed on the *right* bank of the Ganges during our voyage. Its sources are in some hills connected with the chain which begins at Rajmehal, through an opening in which it flows in a northerly direction, entering the southern parts of Shahabad under the impregnable heights of Rotas, passing not far from the ancient city of Sasseram, on the left, and close to Duodnaghur, Arwul, and Mussoorah on the right, and finally joining the Ganges near the town of Moneah, at a point where stands a fine mausoleum erected over one of the ancient princes of the country.[1] I was told that precious stones were found in this river, and that it possessed the quality of petrifying substances thrown into it. I regretted not having an opportunity of making inquiries upon these subjects, in which, though with more probability of fable, there might be *some* truth. Having also heard much of the fortress of Rotas, and of the city of Sasseram, I regretted, as did the General and all the party, that we could not see these celebrated places. Little did I think at this period that the opportunity I thus desired would one day be offered to me, that the fort and territory of Rotas, the city of Sasseram, the great towns above mentioned on the right bank of the Soane, and the whole country on both sides of that river, from its issue from the hills to its junction with the Ganges, would be under my authority.

Having passed the spacious mouth of the Soane, we entered the fine district of Shahabad, and, coming soon after to a safe and pleasant spot for the fleet, the General stopped for the night. The dinner party consisted of the usual persons, with the exception of Colonel Palmer and his son, separated in the storm off Bar, who had not joined us since. As I rode along the banks of the river the next morning I was struck with the highly-cultivated state of the country, and with the number of villages picturesquely intermixed with dark groves of the mangoe tree, the whole bearing the pleasing aspect of popu-

[1] Murdum Shah.

lation, ease, and abundance. The peasants in the fields replied to my inquiries in a language I could hardly understand, it being the gungwary or village language, or patois, of the country; but when I spoke to inhabitants of a higher class I was answered in the Hindostanee language in a degree of purity that made me ashamed of the jargon I had been learning in Bengal.

I found that Mr. Brooke, who had been long in India, was the burrah sahib, or chief, of this district, and that his residence was at Arrah, a large town a few miles in the interior, where he lived in great splendour. I understood, however, that his munificence was not directed to objects of useless ostentation. He had made a fine road through his district, beginning at the Soane, not far from the junction of that river with the Ganges, and extending to the Caramnassa, the western limit of Shahabad. Its line was nearly parallel to the Ganges, and was carried over the numerous streamlets which intersected its course on substantial pucka bridges—that is, bridges built of solid masonry, so as to be passable at all seasons, even during the rains, when the roads in India are generally impassable.[1] I observed that this gentleman seemed to have the state and authority of a prince, while the name of the Governor-General was scarcely known, and his power scarcely felt, in these distant parts.

On the opposite side of the river was the district of Sircar Sarun, of which Chuprah is the chief station. All this country on both sides of the river forms part of Behar, and was the Wales of the Mogol empire, being the hereditary estate of the Emperor's eldest son. The General came-to this evening

[1] The length of this road, the finest provincial road in India, is about fifty miles. I wish I could add that this great work was due to the munificence of the Company's administration. But though Government derived the chief benefit of it for the service of their troops, both the original formation and the annual repairs were at the charge of the district, forming a grievous and disreputable addition to the heavy taxation with which the landholders were already loaded. When this road devolved to my care, some years subsequently, with the charge of Shahabad, I placed it, with the other roads of the district, under the superintendence of a young Englishman, who had been recommended to me by my family—Mr. Philip Carter.

in a small nullah on the Chuprah side of the Ganges, not far from the town of that name, and before dinner took a walk on the shore, in which most of his officers and myself accompanied him. The weather continued oppressively hot. We should probably have suffered less from the heat, which prevailed for a few days, if there had existed less etiquette. The General, not from pride, for he had none, but doubtless from military habit, always appeared in regimentals, his head powdered, and a full scarlet coat, rendered more heavy and hot by a profusion of large buttons and broad gold lace. The officers had their appropriate proportion of the same inconvenient encumbrance, and I, of course, observed the same ceremony, filling my long hair with powder and pomatum, and wearing a coat of English broad cloth. But later in the evening, when the Parsee brought round his mocha, the company being then dispersed about, some in the card-room, some upon the deck, the temperature became most pleasantly cool and refreshing.

26*th August*.—I take my ride this morning on the northern side of the Ganges. We passed in the forenoon the mouth of the Gogra, a considerable river from the mountains of Thibet, which in its course passes by Fyzabad, formerly the capital of the kingdom of Oude. At its junction with the Ganges the East India Company have a custom-house. The custom-master had a handsome house close to the shore, from which he came to pay his respects to the General, offering to send him anything his station afforded. On his return he sent a boat after us with fruit and vegetables. Amongst the former were some fine grapes, the first I had seen in India. This gentleman, whose name was Revel, was related to Dr. Reynolds, a distinguished physician of London, a particular friend of my family, and a very excellent man.

We stop this evening on the Shahabad side of the river. The country presented the same beauty and fertility we had before observed. The next afternoon, on approaching the fort of Buxar on the same side, General Fullerton, the commanding

officer, came to meet the Commander-in-chief. In the evening the General, accompanied by the Commandant and his own staff, went on shore and visited the fort, and afterwards walked on the ramparts, from whose elevation we looked down upon the celebrated field on which the success of Plassey was confirmed, and the British power in the East finally established. For the battle of Plassey, though it did much, left much to be done. That battle, though fatal to Serajah Dowlah, and decisive of the fate of Bengal, was, perhaps, more calculated to excite alarm and resistance among the states than to produce their discouragement and submission. Treachery was considered to have had a considerable share in the decision of that action, and the small number of British troops engaged in it had not been materially increased since.

The Commander-in-chief, Colonel Monro, could not now bring 1500 Europeans into the field. Under these circumstances it seems less surprising that other native powers should concert opposition, or even active aggression, than that the British Commander should venture with so small a force to leave the barely secured provinces of Bengal and march many hundred miles into the interior of the country to conquer states possessing many millions of warlike population. This step, however, was perhaps hardly a matter of choice with the Company's Government. For Cossim Ally, driven from Bengal, retired, as we have seen, towards the north, where he found powerful princes fully disposed to assist him in the recovery of his throne, and to unite in opposing the further encroachments of a new and powerful nation, whose progress seemed to threaten their own possessions. But the fortune which attended the British arms at Plassey followed them to the capital of Behar. Patna was surrendered by the allied princes, who, however, determined to make another stand under the walls of Buxar.

Victory here was scarcely less important to the British than at Plassey, for defeat, at so great a distance from Calcutta, would probably have been fatal both to the army and to our power in

India. Respecting this memorable engagement I have received many accounts, not differing materially from each other. It took place on the 23rd October 1764. Colonel Fullerton, a very intelligent officer, who was, I believe, in India at the time, described to the Commander-in-chief the positions and manœuvres of the respective forces. Sujah Dowlah, who was considered the Generalissimo of the allied princes, placed his troops in front of the fort, having the Ganges on his left. From this position he moved unexpectedly towards the British line, posted towards the east, and having the Ganges on its right. The allies consisted of 40,000 men ; the British of only 1300 Europeans and 5000 sepoys. The battle began at eight in the morning and lasted to twelve, when Sujah Dowlah retreated towards and crossed a small nullah about two miles to the west of Buxar. The native army had suffered very severely both during the engagement and the retreat, but its principal loss is said to have been at this spot, owing to the destruction of a temporary bridge by the orders of Sujah Dowlah, before all his troops had passed. Great numbers of unfortunate men, whose retreat was thus cut off, perished by the sword of their pursuers, but more in the water and mud of the nullah. It is supposed, and one is not disposed to doubt the only fact that could justify this sacrifice of part of the troops, that the whole of the allied army and the treasures of Cossim Ally brought away from Rotas would have fallen into the hands of the victorious forces if the bridge had not been destroyed.

In contemplating this great event it is satisfactory to reflect that India did not at last fall by the treachery of her defenders, and that the banners of victory were not stained, as at Plassey, by the participation of the conqueror in a dishonourable action.

Here then may be said to terminate the extraordinary series of military achievements which brought the finest parts of Asia under the dominion of a society of British merchants, who first appeared in the character of needy adventurers on the coasts of India. There are, perhaps, few events in history more remark-

able than these transactions. Results so disproportionate to the means which produced them seem quite inexplicable. The confederation formed to oppose this invasion was very formidable. It comprised the most powerful princes, united under the influence, and animated by the personal activity and courage, of the young heir-apparent of the empire, and received the support of his more ample authority, when the death of his father, announced to him in his camp at Sasseram, raised him to the Musnud. Sujah Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, and vizier of the empire, was another of the league, or, rather, was its chief promoter and leader. This was the intrepid prince whose skill and courage were said to have decided in favour of the Mahomedans the great battle of Paninput, where 100,000 Mussulmen were ranged against 200,000 Hindoos, in the most terrible conflict which India had seen since the sanguinary engagement between the four sons of Shah Jehan. Amongst the other allies were Kooly Khan, the Nabob of Allahabad, Bulwunt Sing, Zemindur of Benares, and Pulwan Sing, Rajah of Shahabad, whose domain and palace were not far from the field of battle.[1]

[1] The heir and successor of this prince was the Rajah Bickermajeet Sing, to whom, when I had the charge of the Shahabad district, I paid a visit in the palace here mentioned. I believe this afforded him and his family the more satisfaction, as it was the only similar mark of friendly attention which they had received since the subjection of their country to the English. Returning afterwards to my district, from a mission on which I had been employed by Lord Wellesley, I was surprised to find the Rajah and his sons, and many of the inhabitants of that part of the country, on the road to meet me, for the purpose of expressing their satisfaction at my return. He was a rajah of the highest distinction, being descended from the famous Rajah of Oujein of the same name, about a century before J.C., whose birth, from the service he afterwards rendered his country, forms to the present day an era in the chronology of the Hindoos. The peculiar rank of the Rajah was denoted by a small yellow spot at the bottom of his forehead, and which, I believe, he always wore, at least I never saw him without it. The right to wear this mark could not be conferred but by one who had received it in lineal descent from the original sacred stock. A rajah of Benares once offered a lac of rupees, or £10,000, to the Rajah of Shahabad for this privilege, but the latter was too aristocratic and disinterested to cheapen his family distinction by extending it in a single instance.

My official situation placing me in constant intercourse with this venerable man, I had a pleasure in showing him on all occasions the consideration due to the ancient greatness of his house and to his own personal respectability. The first visit he paid me on my taking charge of the district was one of etiquette.

As I stood upon the battlements of the fort, looking upon this memorable plain, I was far from anticipating my future connection with it. I did not imagine that I should one day go round the boundaries of the field of battle on my elephant, accompanied by an engineer officer, ordered by Lord Wellesley to make a survey and chart of it, to be preserved amongst the archives of the district, where I afterwards placed them. Ball and arms were sometimes ploughed up and brought to me.

A more deliberate and extended view of the situation of Hindostan in the middle of the eighteenth century would doubtless explain some, at least, of the apparent phenomena of the transactions of which I have been speaking. But this would lead too far from the humbler object of these notes—the *personal* narrative of my journey. The chief cause, however, of a defence which appears so little honourable to the patriotism and arms of India may be found in the then actual state of the empire, the sun of whose glory, to use an Indian expression, may be considered as having set during the reign of Mahomed Shah, some years previous to the period of these occurrences. The long reign of this monarch was marked with weakness and calamity. His capital was taken by a prince inferior in rank and power to himself, his treasure plundered, his subjects massacred in his presence, his kingdom dismembered; and though his weakness rather than his power procured him the restitution of his throne, this was nearly the only sign of the

There was some formality and reserve, and perhaps much curiosity, on both sides. He had moved on this occasion, with his court and attendants, more than forty miles. Arrangements being made, he came to me in great state, and I received him with corresponding display and ceremony. The usual presents of gold and perfumes were exchanged. Our subsequent meetings were attended with mutual friendship and confidence, and were extremely pleasant. He possessed, even in a more than usual degree, the dignity and politeness which characterise the manners of persons of rank in the northern parts of India. He was about sixty years of age. His son, the young Rajah, was named Pulwan Sing, after his grandfather, the above-named chief in the battle of Buxar. When vaccination was introduced into India the old Rajah, after some hesitation, consented, at my persuasion, to vaccinate his grandsons, though the Hindoos were much opposed to the innovation. Such an example had the most beneficial influence upon the rest of the population.

imperial state which he had to transmit to his successor, Ahmed Shah, an amiable prince, but whose good intentions alone were not sufficient to turn the fortune of his country. When a state, having attained its zenith of prosperity, assumes a downward course, it is difficult to avert its fall. The mighty empire of the Mogols, after having passed through the usual vicissitudes of Eastern kingdoms during a term of 200 years, shared the fate to which all states are subject which rest upon the personal qualities of the sovereign, and not upon fixed institutions. But there are not, perhaps, many instances of a decline of power so rapid as in the example before us. For so late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, under Aurungzebe (brother of Sultan Sujah, whose residence I passed at Rajmehal), the empire comprised every country and nation from the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges, from Cashmire to Cape Cormorin. And yet was this colossal state, containing probably 150,000,000 of people, and yielding a revenue of 32,000,000 sterling, held together by the vigour and prudence [1] of a monarch aged ninety years.

The fort of Buxar, though small, is important, as commanding the river so completely that it is impossible for a boat to pass without permission. From the high, green ramparts, on which I have often walked since, is seen beyond the field of battle the Pergunnah or circle of Bhojepore, one of the most delightful divisions of Shahabad. It comprehends the country as far as the Caramnassa, the town and fort of Buxar, and the large town of Bhojepore, situated about ten miles to the east of Buxar, and where one of my principal officers, charged with the superintendence of this division, was established. I also had a bungalow not far from Bhojepore, and sometimes spent a few days in it when business called me to this part of my district. It was very pleasantly situated upon the high bank of a nullah

[1] I say *vigour* and *prudence*, because Aurungzebe unquestionably possessed and exercised *these* qualities, though as certainly deficient in the higher virtues of justice and mercy. Although justly considered by the natives of India as one of their greatest monarchs, the lustre of this "ornament of the throne," as his name implies, was sullied by many spots.

which, in the rains, communicates with the Ganges, and is indeed supposed to have been the channel of the Ganges in former, though far distant times, for part of the old bed is now covered with trees, whose size and maturity evince a great age. The Ganges now flows three miles off, but no record states, no tradition tells, when it left its old course. To me this spot was always one of those wonder-striking instances of an immeasurable antiquity with which India almost everywhere abounds. Proceeding once in an evening ride across the plain between the old and present bank of the Ganges, forming part of the estate of the Rajah Bickermajeet, I met with a rather singular proof of the alluvial character of this tract of country. The ground over which my guard on horseback had passed suddenly gave way under my elephant, who was thus enclosed in a large pit many feet in depth. She made prodigious efforts to regain the top of the bank, but her weight immediately brought more of it down. As the bottom of the pit was broken and unfirm, she rolled about in an extraordinary manner, as if she would fall on one side, in which case the mehaut (driver) and myself, being thrown off, would be likely to get under her. Alarmed and out of humour, she renewed her tremendous springs to regain the top of the bank, but the sandy soil as often crumbled before her, though it resisted the weight of my people, who rode round the hole, endeavouring to afford me assistance. The mehaut encouraged her to a further succession of attempts, and although masses of the bank still fell in, she pushed forwards over the broken heaps, and finally reached the top, in a part where the ground offered more solidity.

It was in an indigo factory upon the fine old bank of the Ganges here mentioned, not far from my own bungalow, that I established my English protégé, Philip Carter. The water of a small lake formed by the nullah, being raised by a wheel turned by oxen, afforded an abundant supply to his works, while he was able to put his indigo into boats on the spot when the communication with the Ganges was open in the rainy season.

The great road before mentioned, which crossed the district from the Soane to Buxar, and was under his care, passed before his door.

From the walls of Buxar the Commander-in-chief returned to his boats, accompanied by Colonel Fullerton and his staff, whom he had invited to dine with him. The acquaintance which I now formed with Colonel Fullerton continued many years. Though possessing some habits of harmless eccentricity to be excused, as they were caused by a very long residence in the country, he was a man of a strong mind, and of much information on the earlier proceedings of our armies in India. He was succeeded in the command of Buxar by Colonel Hugh Stafford, who was also appointed by Lord Wellesley my deputy in the direction of the invalid establishments of the army in my district. I cannot say much of the propriety of this appointment, or of the usefulness of my assistant. The invalid stations were on the banks of the Soane, on the other side of the district, fifty miles from Buxar, and Colonel Stafford was unacquainted with the Persian language, in which the public business of this part of the country was conducted.

About eight miles beyond Buxar, on the same or right bank of the river, we arrived the following morning at the Caramnassa, the rubicon of former times, when the riches and importance of Behar and Bengal attracted the ambition or cupidity of the northern conquerors. It is the limit of Shahabad to the west, as the Soane is to the east, the Ganges forming its magnificent boundary to the north, and a range of hills about 100 miles from the Ganges well defining its extension to the south. It is in these hills that the Caramnassa has its source. Strange and contradictory opinions are entertained by the natives respecting this river—some ascribing great virtues to its waters, others denouncing their deleterious qualities. However this might be, they appeared capable of rendering great service to agriculture, and with this impression, when the Caramnassa formed part of my district, I suggested the establishing of

sluices upon it, with canals leading into the interior; for it was lamentable to see such a stream flowing unprofitably by a country where water was particularly wanted, there being in the western part of Shahabad a great tract of country, forming the subordinate district of Cheynpore, where rice was the almost exclusive article of cultivation.

Having mentioned Cheynpore, I must, in passing, say a few words about my old friends its inhabitants. The population of this, the most extensive division of Shahabad, is an eminently martial people, easily inflamed, and impatient of control, but with management and firmness, their subordination is easily secured. A more intimate acquaintance with the inhabitant of Cheynpore discovers in his character many excellent qualities which his pride and haughty demeanour conceal from transient observation. He is brave, high-minded, and faithful; and if too ready to draw his sword, it is generally to defend his rights, or what he conceives to be such, and not to attack those of his neighbour. If not the most quiet and submissive subject in peace, it should be considered that India scarcely possesses his equal in war. It is acknowledged that the best sepoys come from this part of Shahabad. A prudent administrator of this province will endeavour to gain the affections of a people who, pleased, are strong in their attachment, but whose resentment would be truly formidable, if provoked by scorn or injustice. I had a commodious bungalow in this part of the district, and generally spent a little time there in the winter months. It commanded a fine view of the southern hills. Here I slept in the midst of these warriors, without a lock or a bolt on my door, and never experienced nor apprehended the slightest molestation. I reckoned that in case my district were attacked, I could assemble in this part 20,000 men upon whose valour and fidelity I could depend.

The people of Cheynpore once had a dispute with the inhabitants of Sasseram, another division of Shahabad, more to the east. The inhabitants of Sasseram had made an immense

embankment across a valley in their territory, in order to amass water for their lands. The people of Cheynpore complained that this *bund* deprived them of water, to which they were as much entitled as their opponents. Neither party being disposed to give way, the men of Cheynpore determined to arm, and go in a body and possess themselves of the bund, and destroy it. The Khan of the city of Sasseram, a powerful and brave chieftain, was nothing loath to lead forth his dependants to oppose this aggression. I was about sixty miles from the spot when I heard of these hostile preparations. I immediately sent off my camp equipage to a town a short distance from the place of meeting, and followed myself in my palanquin the following day, relays of bearers being stationed for me on the road. I reached my people the next morning, when I was informed that about three thousand armed men, of each district, were assembled, and preparing for battle. I mounted my elephant, took some armed horsemen with me, and soon arrived near the selected field of action. I saw the two parties ranged in two lines a short distance from each other, not far from the great embankment, the subject of their contention, and was afraid the onset would begin before I could reach them. Having approached within 200 yards, I ordered my guard to halt, and pushing forward alone with my elephant, entered between the two lines. I raised my hand and then summoned the chiefs on both sides to approach, and desired them to state to me their complaints. Having listened to these, I addressed them in the Hindostanee language, saying there were two ways of settling their dissension, and that they might choose which they pleased. If they would agree to abide by my decision, I would adjust their differences to the interest and satisfaction of both parties, but if they chose to employ their arms they might do so, but in that case I should remain where I was. I soon had the satisfaction of receiving from all the chiefs their acceptance of my first proposition. I now advanced towards the embankment, followed by all the people, the chiefs on horseback by my

side. The mound was a large and massive work, high and broad in the middle, but diminishing gradually towards the ends, where the ground became higher. I went first to the middle, then to one extremity, then along the inner side, which was now dry, to the other; and after ascertaining the height of the water at different periods of the agricultural season, I rode back, and stopping my elephant between the extremity and the centre, I ordered the bank to be cut through at a point which I thought would afford a fair distribution to each party. All were satisfied, for the Cheynporeans gained what they had not before, and the people of Sasseram were aware that they retained fully as much as they were strictly entitled to.

During the time I continued in Shahabad, I never heard of any further contention upon the subject. This pacific termination afforded me the more pleasure, as in a conflict which *did* take place, under my predecessor, a few years before, between the same parties for the same object, 400 lives were lost.

Although Behar, which we quitted at the Caramnassa, offered no hills visible from the Ganges, this uniformity of its surface was not displeasing or tedious; the country presenting, throughout, one of those fertile plains where abundance agreeably supplies the place of beauty, and almost exceeds it.

We now entered the Benares district, forming part of the Company's dominions since the year 1775, when it was ceded by Asophal Dowlah, Nabob of Oude. The first place of importance that we passed was Ghazypore, situated on the left bank of the Ganges, twenty miles above Buxar. The Company have a small military station here, consisting principally of cavalry, and also a factory, the most northern of their commercial establishments. Ghazypore has since acquired a lamented celebrity by the death of my early friend Lord Cornwallis, who was unfortunately prevailed upon to resume the reins of the Supreme Government of India, on the resignation, or recall rather, of Marquis Wellesley.

In two days more, the 30th August, having passed the

Goomty, a small river on our right, and near it the village of Rampore, whose name recalls to my recollection many agreeable days passed there subsequently, we reached Benares.

I will not apply to a pagan city the words applied on a similar occasion to the most holy city of the East, though they would best supply my inability to describe the enthusiastic joy manifested by the Hindoo population of the fleet on the first appearance of their venerated Casi.[1] The venerable imposing aspect of the city when first seen upon the lofty eastern bank of the Ganges is worthy of its pre-eminence among the cities of India. Its vastness, its antiquity, its sacred character, are all visible at once, the immense line of buildings which overlook the river being intermixed with ancient pagodas and temples, and the steep but spacious ghauts being crowded with devotees passing to and from the river.

The General's great pinnace came-to at one of these ghauts. In the evening Mr. Duncan, the Company's resident at Benares, came on board. As he was about to assume the government of Bombay, and Sir Robert Abercromby had recently left that presidency, the interview seemed full of interest to both. When Mr. Duncan went away I was surprised at the number of attendants with lanterns waiting for him on the steps of the ghaut. It appeared to me that he could hardly gain in consequence, while he would probably lose in comfort, by his transfer to Bombay.

31*st August*.—The interior of the city, which I visited this morning, did not correspond with its external magnificence. It was evident, however, that considerations of health and convenience had suggested the plan of its construction, and that the houses were lofty and the streets narrow for the sake of shade and coolness. The houses of the natives which I had

[1] "Ecco apparir Gerusalem si vede,
Ecco additar Gerusalem si scorge ;
Ecco da mille voci unitamente
Gerusalemme salutar si sente."

Now when the pious Christian band,
Marching to free the Holy Land,
See Sion's walls before them stand,
A thousand tongues Jerusalem proclaim,
Jerusalem ! Jerusalem ! all pointing name.

hitherto seen seldom exceeded one storey, and were *spreading* and irregular; here they were more compact, and had two or three storeys, with sometimes a room or two upon the terrace at top for sleeping in, in the hot season. They were built with very small bricks, of a dark red, generally left in their natural state, but sometimes covered with white chunam, or plaster. Many were painted with different colours. Some of the rich inhabitants had large houses overlooking the Ganges, but more appeared to reside on the opposite side of the city, where I saw some handsome palaces, surrounded by extensive gardens. The streets were so crowded with Hindoos, some going to the bazaars, some to the Ganges, some to the temples, that I could hardly pass in my palanquin. The population was estimated at 400,000 by some accounts, at 500,000 by others, without counting the vast number of pilgrims from all parts of India. For the accommodation of so many strangers, the sanctity of the city was considered as extending some distance round it. Great numbers of Hindoos who are old and infirm, and many who are not so, come within these sacred limits for the sake of ending their days within them, it being the desire and consolation of every pious Hindoo to die in the precincts of Benares. The antiquity of this city reaches those dark ages which no research can penetrate. The Bramins, however, have, or effect to have, some account of its existence at a very remote period. One of these, whom I asked which was the most ancient, Benares or Muttra, replied, that Muttra was the more ancient of the two, but he placed both far beyond the limits of our chronology. It is not surprising that the rich temples of a defenceless Hindoo city should attract the bigotry and rapacity of the Mahomedan invaders. The Bramins speak, in particular, of one of these terrible visitations by Mahomed Gauri, towards the close of the twelfth century, when the city was given up to plunder and violence of every kind. A few more particulars about Benares I reserve for my second visit, on my return, the General's stay here being very short, some

despatches which he received from Calcutta inducing him to accelerate his voyage as much as possible.

Wishing to see some English friends I had at Chunar, fifteen miles higher up the river, I leave the fleet and move on. Chunar is a fort situated upon a high rock, on the right bank of the Ganges. It is considered almost impregnable. It successfully resisted two assaults made by the troops of Colonel Munro after the battle of Buxar. It is an important military station, and may be considered as a guard over the population of Benares; although its distance, and its situation on the opposite side of the river, seem to present some disadvantage in this respect. Its more evident utility is its entire command of the Ganges; and as the conquest of Bengal, if ever it should come, is likely to proceed from the north and take its course down this river, it is obviously prudent in the Company's Government to multiply its defences in the higher parts of its navigation. The greater part of the officers of the station resided in bungalows scattered about the plain which surrounded the fort. It was here that I found Colonel and Mrs. Mackenzie, the latter the intimate and much esteemed friend, and once the near neighbour, of those excellent friends of my early life, my good grandfather and grandmother Aldred, to whom, in common with all who knew them, she retained a warm attachment. To meet and talk about these good people, and recount family anecdotes of the Gordons and Aldreds, in former days, here, 600 miles in the interior of India, was a most agreeable occurrence to us both.[1] The arrival of the Commander-in-chief seemed to put an end too soon to this gratifying visit. As soon as he had received the respects of the officers of the station, and inspected the troops, he continued his voyage.

Thirty miles beyond Chunar we passed, on our left, Mirza-

[1] The two families lived nearly opposite to each other in the parish of St. Saviour's, Norwich, near a square or open space, called Tombland, and not far from the cathedral, and the free school then kept by the celebrated Dr. Parr.

pore, a large town containing nearly 200,000 inhabitants. In commercial importance it is one of the principal towns on the Ganges, being considered in this respect the rival of Patna. Many large boats were lying here laden with bales of cotton, of which article Mirzapore is the chief emporium on the great river.

A little beyond Mirzapore we passed the limit of the Benares district and entered the territories of the Nabob of Oude, and in two days more, immediately after passing the mouth of the Jumna on our left, reached the city of Allahabad, situated at the junction of this river with the Ganges. The angle of land formed by this union is occupied by a fortress of considerable extent and strength, though the latter quality is more due probably to its advantageous position between two wide rivers than to its scientific construction or the solidity of its walls. Its form is triangular : one side facing the Ganges, one the Jumna, and the third the country. It has also three gates : the gate of the Ganges, that of the Jumna, and the Dehli gate. The glacis is fine and extensive, but some buildings were apparently within range of the guns, particularly a large mosque not far from the Jumna, which would cover the approach of an enemy or might be made to aid offensive operations. In the official survey of Bengal, Allahabad is stated to be 820 miles *from the sea ;* an ambiguous expression in this case, it not being clear whether the *principal* mouth of the Ganges is here meant, or that which is *most frequented*—the mouth below Calcutta.

The interior of the fort is the part the most interesting, it containing the palace of the Emperor Acbar. It is a large building of red stone near the edge of a spacious area paved with the same material, on the Jumna side of the fort. It is surrounded by a handsome colonnade, formed by ranges of double columns richly worked. But more remarkable than the palace itself is an octagonal pavilion of great beauty connected with it, towards the west. It consists of three storeys, of which the two upper ones, being higher than the walls, command a

view across the Jumna. The second storey is smaller than the first, and the third than the second; the building thus diminishing gradually towards the top, where it terminates with a well-proportioned dome. The three storeys are encircled by a colonnade of forty pillars, from which this beautiful structure takes its name of Chilus Setoon.

I saw near Allahabad the mausoleum of Sultan Kosvoo, who died in the year 1620. It is a large and handsome monument of red stone, resting upon a raised terrace and surmounted by a dome in the centre. The dark foliage of some fine trees, which threw a mantle of shade over the tomb, was appropriate to the spot, rendering it both solemn and picturesque. Sultan Phoorez, a brother of Kosvoo, had a similar mausoleum not far off. The palace and pavilion in the fort, and these tombs, being the first ancient monuments I had seen in a state of good preservation, afforded me much pleasure and excited my desire to see more objects of the same kind. But the chief interest which Allahabad inspires is derived from its claim to be considered the city whose length was ten miles—the ancient Palibothra.

When Alexander, arriving on the borders of Hindostan, inquired of the Bramins who were led into his presence what the name of the capital of their country was, they replied, Palibothra, or rather something like that name, for certainly the Greeks would not comprehend, nor report accurately, the orthography of a Hindoo name of this length. Besides, the construction of the word is evidently Greek, or at least partly so. It may be presumed that these persons gave, at the same time, a description of the situation of their city, and if this account had, as was not improbable, been placed upon the records of the expedition, the uncertainty which has so embarrassed modern research as to the site of the capital of the East, would not, probably, have existed; though it would have been singular that the elucidation of an important fact relating to the interior of India should have come from the historians

of Greece. This singularity, however, exists in some degree now; for it is from this source that all the information we possess as to the situation of Palibothra is derived.

On conversing with different Bramins and learned men of India upon this subject, different opinions have been expressed to me; some thinking that Patna was meant, others Canouje, others Allahabad — all indicating some great and flourishing city—for no other reason, apparently, than that such city *was* great and flourishing. Their conjectures were never supported by any local circumstance or historical fact, which rendered one city much more probable than another. Such absence of historical record and traditional information would be less remarkable if it existed upon other subjects; but it is extraordinary that nothing of the situation of a great city, which was the capital of India 320 years B.C., should be known to a people who have records attesting the existence of Gour 730 years before the same era; of Canouje, still farther back; and whose astronomical books are said to record, from actual observation, the junction of the sun and moon, 3102 years before the Christian era. To these examples, showing the existence of ancient records, may be added their vedahs and shastahs, and other religious books, besides some poetical works of very great antiquity.

Without examining the causes of this remarkable inconsistency, the fact is that all the knowledge we have respecting the situation of Palibothra is derived from Greek and Roman authors. But the information given by them is very slight in itself, and is further weakened by considerable obscurity and apparent contradiction. Arrian, a Greek historian, who describes the expedition of Alexander, says that Palibothra was situated on the right bank of the Ganges, at the confluence of a great river which he calls the Errobous, in the country of the Praji or Prasi. There is no river in India called the Errobous, but the existence of the Prasi is well known, and their capital is generally supposed to have been the present

city of Allahabad, or rather to have occupied the *site* of the present city. Supposing, then, the Errobous to have been the Jumna, the description of Arrian is perfectly applicable to Allahabad, which *is* situated on the right bank of the Ganges at the junction of this with a river to which the epithet of "large" is more applicable than to any river which the Ganges receives in all its course; and, finally, the people of this country *were* the Prasi. To appreciate this evidence it is proper to remember that, although Arrian wrote more than 150 years after the expedition of Alexander, he borrowed the statement of Megasthenes, another Greek historian, who wrote *his* account of the Grecian expedition not long after its termination, and probably, therefore, formed it upon the communications he had received from officers personally engaged in it.[1]

Pliny also says that the Jumanis (evidently the Jumna) enters the Ganges near Palibothra, between Muttra and Chabara. What this last-mentioned place is, or is supposed to be, I do not know, *possibly* Mirzapore; but it is certain that Muttra was at the time in question a large city situated on the Jumna. So far, then, this is a confirmation of Arrian. But Pliny adds that it was 425 miles below this junction of the Ganges and Jumanis that the city of Palibothra stood. This expression has proved a stumbling-block to Indian antiquarians. Some, transferring their researches down the river, supposed that the *Soane* was meant by the great stream which entered the Ganges at Palibothra, and consequently that *Patna* was the lost city. The objections to this hypothesis were, firstly, that Patna is *not* at the junction of the Soane with the Ganges, but more than twenty miles from it; and secondly, that this position would not place the city nearly so much as 425 miles from the mouth of the Jumna.

In answer to the first objection it was observed that there was reason to believe that the Soane once entered the Ganges under the walls of Patna, and to reconcile the distance given

[1] He had even been at the capital and court of Sundrocottus, or Chundracupta.

by Pliny, it was pretended that *his* 425 miles did not differ materially from the *actual* distance between the mouth of the Jumna and the capital of Behar. Others, again, to make the situation better accord with the last part of Pliny's account, choose *Rajmehal* as the ancient metropolis, taking for the great river, the Coosy, which, as I observed when passing that river, *did* once join the Ganges near Rajmehal. Others, again, and particularly Captain Wilford,[1] a great authority in such matters, were in favour of Gour, which was certainly at or near the junction of the Coosy and Ganges, but on the *left* side of the latter; whereas Arrian places Palibothra on the *right* bank of the Ganges. Another considerable authority fixed upon *Canouje*, considerably to the north of Allahabad, as the city in question. Canouje was certainly an eminent city, and is supposed to have been the capital of India long before the days of Alexander; but this hypothesis rejects the testimony both of the Greek and Roman writers, since there is no junction of a great river with the Ganges at Canouje, as will be seen in the subsequent part of my voyage. The inquiry may therefore be confined to Patna and Allahabad.

Against the pretensions of Allahabad, it is remarked that the capital of the Praji or Prasi was higher up the Ganges. This, however, seems a distinction of no great importance. The site of Allahabad between two rivers, whose junction the Hindoos have, from time immemorial, held sacred, was most probably occupied by a considerable city which, whether the *capital* or *dependant* upon *Canouje* or any other city, would still be *in the country* of the Prasi, for it is admitted that these were a great nation, whose dominion extended far beyond the country comprised between the Ganges and the Jumna. In favour of Allahabad it may be remarked further that though Pliny says Palibothra was *far below* the Jumna, and thus differs from Arrian as well as from himself, it seems reasonable that of his two contradictory statements we should adopt that

[1] See Wilford, Jones, and others.

in which Arrian coincides with him; and this would place the ancient capital of India where we now find Allahabad—that is, *at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, in the country of the Praji, and below Muttra.*

It was perhaps this consideration which, in the balance of opinions, seemed to give a preponderance to Allahabad. Besides, Pliny is more remarkable for the extent than the depth of his knowledge, more general than accurate—writing upon many subjects, but upon none profoundly.[1] He had not visited these countries, nor probably seen those who had; and if he derived his information, as he probably did, from Grecian sources, one seems more exposed to error in trusting to his report of a remote event than in recurring at once to Megasthenes, who would naturally found his relation upon the accounts of friends or others who had *accompanied* the eastern expedition. So far, then, the preference seems due to Allahabad.

It so happened that I was once deputed by Lord Wellesley to take charge of Allahabad and the district in which it stands, forming part of the country of the ancient Praji. I intended to avail myself of so favourable an occasion for instituting a particular inquiry into the history of this city; but my residence there, instead of being permanent, as was intended, was too short to allow me the satisfaction I had promised myself. But a spot was pointed out to me, about two miles to the north of the present fort of Allahabad, as having been the site of a city in former times when the Ganges and Jumna met above their present point of conflux. The surface in this part offered no vestiges of a city; but a high bank which I saw had every appearance of having once been the shore of the Ganges or Jumna, although it *now* lay *between* these rivers, extending nearly from one to the other, while the extensive tract or tongue of land between this line and the fort, although now cultivated and bearing full-grown trees and part of the present city of

[1] Pliny speaks gravely of a whale 900 feet long, and of a fox or hyæna that could imitate the voice of a shepherd, and even call the sheep by their names.

Allahabad, was comparatively of modern, or at least of subsequent, formation. It appeared, indeed, that some portions of this lower level had been overflowed by the Ganges at no distant period, for the soil was so covered with hard pieces of conglomerated earth, such as are found upon the shores of the Ganges in the higher parts of its course, that my elephant could scarcely walk over it. Excavations made along the line of the ancient shore alluded to, and on which Palibothra, if it did exist in this part, most probably stood, might have led to some elucidation of this question, positive or negative, and I much regretted not having an opportunity of making these trials.

I was, however, stationed for some time not far from Patna, the other city which appeared to have most pretension to be considered the great metropolis, towards which the conqueror of Porus was directing his course. Patna was not under my authority, but it was only three miles beyond the limits of my district, and the large military station of Dinapore was within them. The Souns of Pliny also was in the country under me, and only eight miles from my usual residence. The water which I drank was brought to me daily from this river by men whom I kept for that purpose, and I occasionally spent a little time upon its pleasant and healthy banks, on which I had a large handsome house about seven miles from the junction with the Ganges, and also a bungalow about twenty miles higher up. The charge also of the invalid establishments of the army, occupying the lands of eighteen villages upon the banks of the Soane, occasionally called me to this river.

I have said that a principal argument against Patna in this inquiry was, that this city is not at the junction of a great river with the Ganges, as Arrian describes Palibothra to have been, the Souns flowing into the Ganges twenty miles above Patna. Now, while I was living near the Soane or Andamatis a singular circumstance occurred, bearing upon the subject in dispute.

The celebrated General Baird, who lost his arm in the

breach of Seringapatam, commanded the troops at Dinapore, in my district, and about thirty miles from where I was then residing, and nineteen from the Soane, which thus flowed between the General and me. One day, in the middle of the rainy season, a messenger arrived from the General in great haste. He delivered a letter informing me that the waters of the Soane had suddenly come down upon Dinapore; that part of the cantonments was already overflowed; and requesting I would order measures to be taken to stop the inundation. I immediately despatched orders to my officers on the banks of the Soane, to take such steps as were expedient to save the cantonments, without causing injury more serious to other parts of the country, and to report to me the cause and circumstances of the accident which had occurred. In reply to the latter part of my instructions, I was informed that the Soane, having risen to a great height, had broken through the right bank, and flowed down to the vicinity of Patna, in an old bed of the river in former times. Struck with a fact which seemed to throw some light on an important investigation, I made further inquiries, and found that the course which the Soane had taken in this irruption was generally recognised in that part of the country as an ancient channel, by which the Soane had reached the Ganges. Another important discovery was made. There were found close to Patna the traces of a great city whose name appeared to have been Patiliputra.

Such is the brief outline of a question which interested me once. The unexpected discovery of Patiliputra shows that we should consider the monuments of India as hidden rather than lost, and that we may reasonably expect to bring other interesting facts to light by perseverance in active and patient research.

During my second or *official* visit to Allahabad, I had a little adventure which I shall relate here. As I was asleep one night in a bungalow, upon the high bank alluded to in the preceding account as the supposed seat of ancient Palibothra, a man entered my room by an open door at the side of my bed,

passed round to the opposite side, and took from a chair placed there a small mahogany box containing papers, and my sword, which was between the head of the bed and the chair. He must either have made more than one trip, or have had a companion, for the mosquito curtains, though tucked close under the bedding, had been lifted up, and one of the two pillows lying upon the bolster removed. Whether I was disturbed by this operation, or by anything else, I could not say; but awakening suddenly, and raising myself, I saw the head of a man just above the foot of the bed. He was stooping down to conceal himself, and in this position, with his eyes fixed upon me, was making his way to the door. I untucked the curtains on that side, and sprang out to intercept his retreat, but was too late, though I was so close upon him, across the verandah, that he had no time to pick his way down the steep bank, but fell, or threw himself down it, leaving behind him a small red cap, which had covered the top of his head. It appeared that several men were waiting for him at the bottom, as I distinctly heard them run off all together. I had reason to consider the man's escape from the room as fortunate, for it was thought likely that he would have stabbed me if I had seized him, or rather, had attempted to seize him, for I was further told that it was usual in that part of the country for the profession to which the man apparently belonged to rub themselves over with oil to prevent their being held. My small box was found, a day or two after, in a field of sugar-canes, with all my papers in it; so that I lost nothing but my pillow, my sword, and part of my night's rest.

7th October.—The Commander-in-chief, after a very short stay at Allahabad, continued his voyage, which now, however, was attended with some inconveniences we had not experienced before. One of the most dangerous peculiarities in the navigation of the Ganges is the falling in of the banks, when these, excavated by the force of the current in the rainy season, are left unsustained by the receding waters. We now witnessed

this effect. Large masses of lofty bank were perpetually tumbling into the river. Boats sailing up the middle of the stream, when the wind permits, are exposed to no danger, but when towed along the shore, they are frequently sunk by the weight of the earth which falls upon them, or are upset by the extraordinary agitation of the water. But by attending to the state of the banks, and keeping our track-ropes long, we escaped all accident. It was principally with these track-ropes that we now advanced, for the easterly winds failed us almost entirely; and though the current became, at the same time, less strong against us, the depth of water being also diminished, it was often necessary to tow round islands, or projections of sand, which obstructed the channel. On some of these we often saw alligators, two or three together, basking in the sun, near the edge of the water, into which they hastily escaped if the boats approached them, or some of the officers fired at them.

The fine easterly breeze which had favoured us so long was at length followed by strong winds from the west, which greatly impeded our progress. The budgerows now had an evident advantage over the pinnaces, whose loftier decks and masts, and thicker rigging, opposed much more resistance to the wind. Although the track-ropes were well manned, the fleet proceeded laboriously and slowly through the intricate channels of the river above Allahabad. Sir Robert became impatient at this delay, for he had reason to believe that the Nabob of Oude, whose country we were now in, had left his capital to meet him higher up the Ganges.

The second day after leaving Allahabad, we passed, on our left, the town and small district of Corah, forming part of the great district of Allahabad.[1] Notwithstanding the General's desire to advance, and every effort made for that purpose, on the 11th we had proceeded no farther than Allumehund. In the afternoon of this day a messenger arrived from the north with despatches for the Commander-in-chief. At dinner I found

[1] Thermometer 98° in the boats.

that they had announced the arrival of the Nabob at Dalmow on the Ganges, where he was waiting to receive His Excellency. In the course of the evening the General came to a resolution to go on the next day in his banleah, or long covered rowing boat, and taking with him Colonels Auchmuty and Scott, and Major Hall, to leave me in charge of the fleet.

The next morning, Sir Robert went forward, and I assumed my command. The navigation continued intricate, and the wind and current being strong against us, our progress was difficult; but to my great satisfaction, no accident happened. On the third day, when we had arrived within a few miles of Dalmow, I was surprised to see several elephants upon the eastern shore, with their conductors and numerous attendants. Information being brought me that they were sent by the Vizier (the title of the nabob or sovereign of Oude) for the rest of the Commander-in-chief's party, I brought the fleet to at a place that seemed convenient for disembarking. When, however, we were about to leave our boats, a singular scene presented itself. The shore, it appeared, was not quite firm, at least for the tread of an elephant, for as these animals approached the water, the ground trembled under their weight. Indeed I thought it would give way entirely. The elephants seemed to have this apprehension too, for they would advance no farther. The mehauts, aided by their assistants on foot, urged them forward. Thus pressed, they cautiously tried the solidity of the ground with their fore-feet, and, not satisfied, retreated several paces. The mehauts were angry, and again made them advance, pressing them with their pointed irons. The elephants roared from pain, but would not come upon the soft ground, slipping on one side, or retreating backwards when they approached it. I do not know how this contention would have ended if we had not desired the drivers to desist, saying we would walk to where the elephants were.

I felt a singular impression in mounting, as I now did, an elephant for the first time, and an elephant, too, belonging to one

of the princes of the innermost part of India. Unimportant as it was, it was a circumstance which made me feel the change which had taken place in my situation, in the few years which had elapsed since the name of India was first mentioned to me in my father's study. I had a noble animal all to myself, and sat like a nabob, in the middle of a splendid howdah, or pavilion, spacious enough to hold several persons. We went along at a rate that astonished me, and reached headquarters in time for the General's dinner, which was served in a magnificent tent which the Vizier had pitched for him. I here met Mr. Cherry, whom I had known in Calcutta, now Envoy from the Supreme Government to the Court of Oude, and also many superior officers who had accompanied the Nabob, in order to pay their respects to the Commander-in-chief. My budgerow and the fleet arrived in the course of the evening.

The next day the General and all his party were entertained at a grand breakfast given by the Nabob. Besides coffee, fish, curries, etc., the table was covered with a profusion of sweetmeats and flowers. The tent used on this occasion was particularly handsome; but I was most struck with the splendour of the dresses worn by the Vizier and by his court. Their manners also were most dignified and noble. The following day the Vizier and his principal officers were invited to a similar entertainment given by the General. The Nabob sat on the General's right hand at table, and was extremely easy and affable. He expressed himself in the Hindostanee language, Mr. Cherry interpreting to the General what he said. I sat nearly opposite to him, and heard and understood his conversation. The table extended nearly from one side of the immense tent to the other; and being surrounded by the most splendid dresses, Asiatic and European mixed together, the effect was exceedingly brilliant. The Vizier, who had come on horseback, returned to his camp, a quarter of a mile from the General's, in a palanquin, accompanied by a numerous retinue

of officers and attendants on foot, on horseback, in palanquins, and on elephants.

Several days passed thus in reciprocal visits and festivities, in which was displayed the magnificence of the most splendid court in India, for such the court of Oude was allowed to be. Everything seemed to be done by His Highness to amuse and gratify the British Commander-in-chief. Some of the contrivances adopted for this purpose were rather curious. One day the Nabob, after having breakfasted with the General, had an elephant of extraordinary size led into the enclosure which surrounded the tent. The General rose from table, and went with the Nabob and all the company to contemplate this stupendous animal, whose height was *said* to be fifteen feet. Of course no one expressed a doubt of the exactness of this measurement. It was certainly a prodigious elephant, and such as no European present had seen before. To increase the effect, another elephant, as remarkable for its diminutive size, was placed by the side of the large one. The latter was probably of a particular species, the colour being grayish, instead of black, the usual colour of elephants.

In the evenings the Nabob and his court, and the General and his party, sometimes mounted upon elephants belonging to His Highness. As soon as we had gained the open fields, the elephants were brought in a line, the Nabob and General being a little in advance, near the centre; and in this manner we went across the country, followed by parties of the Vizier's cavalry, and by countless attendants. It was a grand scene; but I could not see without astonishment and regret the serious injury done to the crops by these excursions.

As the Commander-in-chief expected to remain a few days longer at Dalmow, I decided upon proceeding up the Ganges before His Excellency, in order to pay a visit to Mr. Rider at Cawnpore, whom I had known in Calcutta. The General desired me to take everything I wanted from his stores; and while I was receiving a supply, I wrote a letter to Mr. Fletcher

at Santipore. In three days I much surprised Mr. Rider by informing him of my arrival at the ghaut near his house, to which, having received a most kind invitation, I immediately removed.

Cawnpore, situated on the right bank of the Ganges, in the kingdom of Oude, is principally important as the chief northern station of the Company's troops. Of these Mr. Rider was the paymaster. The Company's having troops here, and at Futtighur, also in the Nabob's territories higher up the river, was in consequence of a convention between the Nabob and the East India Company, by which the latter agreed, for a stipulated sum (about £400,000 per annum), to defend the Nabob's dominions against all aggression. This arrangement certainly assured to the Nabob a much better protection of his country than he was able to give it himself; though, by admitting the armies of a neighbouring and more powerful state into the very centre of his kingdom, within a few marches of his capital, reducing at the same time his own forces, his future independence, if such it could hereafter be called, evidently rested upon the honour and good faith of the said ally. On the other hand, the arrangement was most advantageous to the Company, not only by rendering a powerful neighbour dependent upon *their* interpretation of the treaty, but by transferring to the Nabob the expense of defending their most exposed frontier, for in Oude their troops were most advantageously posted for that object.

I received the most polite attentions from the commandant and officers at Cawnpore, although my visit caused considerable uneasiness—an extraordinary circumstance, of which I knew nothing till some months after.

The Company had wished to reduce the extra allowances (double full batta) attached to the distant stations of their army, of which Cawnpore was the principal. To effect this unpopular measure was supposed to be the real, though not avowed, object of the Commander-in-chief's visit to the military stations; and

when I left His Excellency at Dalmow, and arrived at Cawnpore alone, it was soon suspected that I came to ascertain the feelings of the army on this delicate question. I much regretted this unfortunate misconception, for which there was no other foundation than the extreme sensibility of the army upon this subject. I never heard the Commander-in-chief mention the topic of the army's allowances; and the object of his voyage up the Ganges was of a very different nature, as will soon appear.

The General having arrived, and received the officers and inspected the troops, proceeded on towards Futtighur, the last station of the army.

The river, now considerably fallen, offered nothing remarkable during the rest of the voyage, excepting the remains on the western bank of the celebrated city of Canouje, once the capital, if not of Hindostan, at least of the Conya-Cubjah, a most ancient people, whose language was the Hindu, from which is derived the modern Hindostanee, with, of course, numerous corruptions, and the admixture of other languages, particularly the Arabic and Persian. I saw with deep interest the remains of that ancient city, which, a thousand years before the Christian era, contained, as I have before observed, 30,000 shops for the sale of betel for its immense population; and yet this boasted capital must now be numbered amongst other ancient cities passed in the course of our voyage, whose visible greatness had entirely disappeared, leaving only a few deserted ruins to attest their existence.

In three days more, after a most delightful excursion of two months and nineteen days, forming a period of my life towards which, when I advance towards its close, I shall look back with extreme interest and satisfaction, we came in sight of Futtighur, on the western bank, 580 miles from Calcutta, and the limit of Sir Robert Abercromby's voyage up the Ganges.

The General now left his pinnaces, and took possession of a large bungalow, which the commanding officer of the station had

prepared for him. I also felt disposed to live on shore again, and hired a small bungalow belonging to an absent officer, taking to it my cot, table, chairs, etc., from my boat. The situation was pleasant, the verandah overlooking the Ganges. I continued, however, to be a daily guest at the General's table, where the company was now increased by a portion, in turn, of the officers of the station.

The real object of the meeting between the Sovereign of Oude, and the Commander-in-chief, at Dalmow, soon began to appear. A rumour of war circulated through the cantonments. It appeared that the Nabob had decided to march against Rohilcund, and that, during the meeting at Dalmow, he had concerted with the General for the assistance of a part of the Company's forces. All doubt upon this point was shortly removed by an order, issued by the Commander-in-chief, naming the regiments that were to form the expedition. The whole station was immediately in motion. Finding that the General meant to take the field himself, I expressed a desire to accompany him, to which he assented; but upon my applying to the Commissary-General, the latter said it was impossible to allow me either tent or elephant, so pressing was the public demand. I therefore determined to set out for Agra as soon as the army should have marched for Rohilcund, and see the Taje-Mehal, the fame of which had long excited my curiosity. The General, who had often expressed a desire to see Agra before his return to Calcutta, approved my plan. I informed him that if I succeeded in reaching Agra, I should probably endeavour to extend my journey to Dehli.

The preparations for the approaching campaign were pushed with great vigour. On the 18th the troops began to pass over to the eastern side of the Ganges, and as soon as all had crossed they were joined by the Commander-in-chief and his staff. They immediately began their march in a north-east direction, towards Rohilcund. The country so called is north of Oude, and fills up the angle formed by the Ganges and a line of hills to the

north-east of that river. The capital is Rampore. The Rohillahs, who inhabit this country, are a restless, warlike people, who have always been the terror of the neighbouring states.

Fyzoolah Khan, the chief of this nation, had lately died, after a prosperous reign of twenty years. He was an excellent prince, able, active, just, and benevolent. These qualities of the sovereign, combined with the extraordinary fertility of the soil and the great salubrity of the climate, rendered this state one of the most flourishing and happy of Hindostan. But the internal peace, and probably the prosperity of Rohilcund, ended with the life of Fyzoolah Khan. He left seven sons, of whom Mahomed Ally, the eldest, and successor to the throne, seemed to possess many of his father's virtues. But the mild character of these, unsupported by the experience of Fyzoolah, and by the respect which his years and the length and success of his reign commanded, were unable to resist the turbulent and active ambition of his brother, Gholam Mahomed, Fyzoolah's second son, whose views were more congenial to the martial character of the people. This similarity having gained him a great ascendancy over the latter, there was nothing to prevent his engaging in the most criminal enterprises. His ambition having determined him to possess himself of the throne, the natural cruelty of his disposition easily reconciled him to every excess in the execution of this design. He scrupled not to contrive a plot for the murder of his brother; but the latter, apprised of his danger, was able to escape it. A second time the plans of Gholam Mahomed were contrived with more refined cruelty, and executed with more fatal certainty. Having possessed himself of his brother's person, he caused him to be put to death in such a way that he might appear to have destroyed himself.

The Nabob of Oude could not remain a quiet spectator of these atrocities. He was not only the ally of Mahomed Ally, the murdered prince, but was the legitimate heir of part of his estates. He accordingly determined to march against the

usurper, rejecting twenty-two lacs of rupees offered to him by Gholam as the price of his neutrality; and having solicited the Government of Calcutta to aid his expedition with the Company's troops, the definitive arrangements for that purpose were settled between the Nabob and Sir Robert Abercromby at the meeting at Dalmow.

A few days' marches brought our army near the frontier which separates the Nabob's dominions from Rohilcund. The Nabob himself with *his* army had not yet arrived, though with common diligence, or rather perhaps without purposed delay, he would have been as forward as our troops. Early on the 26th October the Commander-in-chief received intelligence that Gholam Cawdir had passed the frontier, and was marching towards him. The British army immediately marched to meet the enemy. At 10 o'clock the action began by a cannonading on both sides, but the Rohillah guns were so elevated that the shot passed over our troops, and fell in the rear. The Rohillah horse having come forward in front of our right, an officer who was stationed in that part of the line with the cavalry was directed to attack them, and advanced with apparent determination for that purpose; but when within a short distance of the Rohillah cavalry, which continued to advance boldly, he, instead of charging it, was led by some extraordinary fatality to wheel about, and to the *left*, thus placing his regiment in its flight between the enemy and the fire of our guns. The consequence was that the Rohillah horse arrived in full force upon our right flank battalions, broke through them, and got into the rear, where they wheeled and renewed their charge. The loss which this part of our line sustained in the course of a few seconds was very great. Colonels Bolton and Burrington, whom I had met but a few days before at the General's table, and many other officers posted on the right, were killed. Fortunately the left and centre, where the General was, were unshaken, though attacked with great intrepidity, and by very superior numbers. This successful resistance enabled the whole line to advance,

and in a short time the enemy was in full retreat beyond the frontier. The Nabob did not join till the next day.

The Rohillahs engaged in this short but sanguinary conflict amounted to 30,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry. They had 4000 killed and wounded. I have no memorandum of the numbers of our troops, but we had 600 killed and wounded, and fourteen officers among the former. The officer who had been the principal cause of so great a loss on our part was ordered under arrest, but he escaped, and nobody knew what had become of him. Before this unfortunate event he had the reputation of being a very gallant officer. I dined at his bungalow a day or two before he marched from Futtighur, and he was in high spirits at the idea of the approaching campaign. Our army followed the enemy into Rohilcund, took possession of Rampore, and dethroned Gholam Mahomed, the usurper.

After the General's departure for Rohilcund my time had been principally employed in preparing for my own expedition. My chief difficulty was in procuring an escort, all the disposable force of the station having marched with the army. However, the commanding officer promised me fifty sepoys ; and Colonel Palmer, who had been separated from us in the storm on the Ganges between Monghir and Patna, having arrived, offered me a tent, for the transport of which I engaged a hackery[1] and a pair of bullocks, with their driver. I also procured a set of bearers from Furruckabad, a large city, only four miles from Futtighur, but across a country intersected with deep ravines, in which were many wolves. On this account it was considered dangerous to pass this way in the dark. I returned late one evening across these ravines, and though I saw no wolves, yet from the stories I heard of these animals I was glad to get back to my bungalow.

At Furruckabad resided a celebrated maker of ivory chessmen. But one consequence of his notoriety was that it was difficult to get any of his work. I succeeded, however, in getting

[1] An open cart, or platform of bamboos, placed between two wheels.

him to promise me two sets, one purple, the other green, and I received them many months after, subsequently to my return to Bengal.

One day as I was walking up and down my verandah I thought I perceived a white man floating down the Ganges nearly in the middle of the stream; a very unusual sight, for no European ever thought of venturing into the river, particularly so far from the bank, on account of the danger from crocodiles. When the object came opposite my bungalow all doubt was removed, for it certainly was an European, his face just above the water. He seemed to be swimming gently, without any effort to gain the shore. Soon after he had passed, my surprise was converted into horror on observing an alligator following him. He seemed to have his eyes fixed upon the man, but abstained from seizing him for the present, the distance between them remaining the same. Before I could take any steps to save the man both were out of sight. I was at a loss to account for this shocking spectacle till I heard it reported in cantonment that an European soldier was missing, and was supposed to have thrown himself into the Ganges.

By the 25th October I was nearly ready for my journey, and expected to begin it in three or four days; but in the interval the state of things at Futtighur was materially changed. The news of the battle of the 26th arrived, and spread astonishment and distress throughout the station. All the officers killed had left numerous friends here, many of them families, who were totally unprepared for their affliction, for the Rohillah expedition had not been regarded as serious. The public alarm also was great. There were many Rohillahs in Furruckabad and in the surrounding country, while the force which guarded the cantonments was very small. It was suggested to me to sleep on board my budgerow. I continued, however, on shore, but had my boats ready in case of anything particular happening. In this state of things I was not surprised at being informed by the commandant that he could not let me have the fifty men

he had promised me, nor even a single sepoy. I thus found myself deprived of my escort at the moment when circumstances rendered it more particularly necessary. I hardly knew what steps to take. To cross the Doab without an escort was considered impracticable. Even in my morning rides I was cautioned not to go beyond the lines, for fear of being swept off by the mounted banditti who scoured the plain, and sometimes advanced to the edge of the cantonments. It occurred to me to change my plan entirely, to give up Agra, and go to Cashmire. In this case I might mount the Ganges some way farther in my boat, or march by the side of it, taking one bank or the other, as I might find the country favourably disposed towards me. I suspended a map of Hindostan at the end of the dining-room, and as I walked up and down for exercise, as usual in India, I stopped before it at each turn to measure and compare distances, to trace the communications which different places presented, and observe what countries and states I should pass through. The man, however, who was to accompany me to Agra with his hackery and bullocks remained firm, and this I considered a proof that *he* did not think the road from the Ganges to the Jumna so unsafe as represented, for I knew that he would not hazard his cattle and carriage, "the means by which he lived," on an excursion which he believed to be very dangerous; and living at Furruckabad he had the best opportunities of learning from travellers in the serais the state of the country we were to pass through. At last one morning this man came and begged me to excuse his not accompanying me. Upon my telling him he was afraid of losing his bullocks by the Mewatties (predatory troops of cavalry), he honestly confessed that this was the case. I told him he was perfectly at liberty to stay behind, and cancelled his engagement.

Amidst these difficulties a servant I had was extremely useful to me. His employment, when I first engaged him at Santipore, was to dress my hair and wait upon me at table, but I had since made him my head servant, trusting him with my

keys and money and all my expenses. He united very pleasing manners to much intelligence and quickness, and though a native of Bengal, possessed some courage, or at least a great indifference to danger. His zeal and activity procured me another hackery and bullocks upon my engaging to buy the owner other cattle if his were killed or taken on the march. Colonel Palmer still offering me a tent, my prospects began to brighten again. Indeed, I now wanted nothing that was material but a guard; but as it was evidently impossible to procure this, it was necessary to be satisfied with the appearance of one.

I selected twenty of the best men among the crews of my two boats. For these my head servant bought lances, swords, and targets at the city, suiting his selection to the choice of each individual. Nearly all chose lances, which I also thought most suitable to them. I had feared that my boatmen would perhaps object to this land service, but, on the contrary, they were well pleased to accompany me for the sake of seeing Muttra. When thus armed they assembled in line before my bungalow. I had reason to be satisfied with their appearance, but *that*, it was evident, was nearly all I had to depend upon, for these timid Bengalees would certainly never stand a charge of the Mewatties, desperate men, well mounted. A few *real* soldiers were therefore very desirable to give confidence and efficiency to my own levy. I therefore sent my head servant once more to the great city, and he succeeded in hiring ten men armed with swords and matchlocks. He procured also eight bearers, to whom we distributed light spears, which would rather assist than impede them when running with my palanquin. I also gave arms to all my other servants. For myself I had a small fowling-piece which Mr. Fletcher had lent me, a pair of large brass pistols with holsters, and a good broadsword and belt.

Everything was to be arranged for my departure on the 10th November, but on the 6th an important incident, as connected

with my journey, occurred. In the morning of that day my servants told me to my surprise that a Fernighy Padre Sahib was arrived at the bungalow and wished to see me. Immediately desiring that he might be shown in, a European priest, dressed in a long black robe and a girdle round his waist, entered the room. He said that his name was Juvenal, that he was a native of Rome, that he was employed on a mission from the ecclesiastical court of that city, and was established at Agra. He added, that being a few weeks ago on his way from the latter city to Futtighur, he had been attacked and robbed, and had narrowly escaped with his life. He had not, he said, since found a safe opportunity of returning to Agra, but hearing that I was about to proceed thither with an escort, he requested that he might accompany me. I said that my escort was probably very different from what he supposed it to be, but that, such as it was, I should esteem myself very fortunate in having the pleasure of his company.

Having expressed a desire to know the particulars of the attack the Padre had mentioned, he said, that when nearly halfway between Agra and Futtighur, in the middle of the day, a considerable body of horsemen came down upon him. Some of them dismounting, bade him get out of his palanquin. In so doing he took his prayer-book with him, and contrived at the same time to secrete under his vest a small bag of rupees, all the property he possessed. The robbers examined minutely every part of his palanquin, and even cut open the lining and bedding with their swords in search of money. During this operation the Padre retired to a short distance with his concealed fortune, and whilst he sat down to pray with his book in his hand he had the address to remove the sack from his bosom and place it under him. The banditti were much disappointed in finding no money, whilst some expressed their suspicion that the traveller must have concealed it about his person, and the Padre, who heard this, saw them advancing towards him. Notwithstanding his avowed terror, at this moment of extreme

peril to his life as well as to his treasure, he preserved his presence of mind and his position. One of the men looking into his loose robe and seeing nothing, angrily tore it open to the girdle. But the Padre, while he prayed for mercy, remained closely seated upon his rupees, and the Mewatties, as these robbers are called, believing they had got everything, at length mounted their horses and disappeared across the plain.

The next day and the day following the Padre called again to learn the progress of my arrangements and assist me with his valuable advice. The companion whom I had thus unexpectedly found was about forty-five years of age, intelligent, cheerful, and good-humoured, but sickly and delicate, as if the climate disagreed with him. He confirmed the opinion which others had already expressed to me that with so small a guard it would be proper to make our journey during the night, as the Mewatties made their excursions in the day.

Everything now being ready, on the 10th November I sent off my people, directing them to proceed slowly to Dehliah, a small village a few miles west of the Ganges, and to halt there till I joined them early in the morning. I requested Padre Juvenal to accompany this party, and if anything was found amiss or deficient to send me word, and remain at Dehliah till he should hear from me. If I received no communication I should conclude that nothing was wanted, and should proceed and join the party. No messenger having arrived at two o'clock in the morning of the 11th, I set out in my palanquin and joined the advanced party. Having stayed a short time to give my bearers rest, I mounted my horse, and we all commenced our night march. Notwithstanding, however, the danger to which stragglers were exposed from the wolves, it was difficult to keep my men together. But the greatest inconvenience we experienced was caused by the slowness of the hackery. This delayed us considerably, and it was eight o'clock before we arrived at Mahommedabad. This was once apparently a considerable town and the residence of some chief, as the ruins of

a large castle seemed to indicate, but now was only a small village, with a serai for travellers. We halted a short distance from the village, among some shady trees which stood near the old castle.

Though we had succeeded as well as could be expected in our first march, some of the men were much tired. As the carriage with the bullocks had principally retarded our progress, I determined, with a view to relieve the bullocks, to send back the fly or heavy external covering of the tent. I accordingly procured a man from the village to take this part of the tent to Futtighur on a hackery, and to accompany it I also sent two of my boatmen who had shown themselves least capable of bearing fatigue. This party was to set off at night on our moving on.

I spent the whole of the day in the tent with Padre Juvenal. In the evening I walked round the ruins of the castle and sketched them as well as I could.[1] There was a prodigious number of pigeons flying about them. I also made a review of my forces, the muster roll of which was as follows:—

1 Khansamah, or steward,
1 Khidmutgur, or servant, } armed with swords.
8 Bearers, armed with pikes.
2 Bhingy burdurs to carry my linen, armed with pikes.
2 Company's Chuprasses, running footmen, with large brass badges, having the Company's arms, armed with swords.
2 Peadahs, or running footmen, armed with swords.
1 Cook, whose arms were his spit, with which he guarded his young wife, mounted upon a small Braminy bull.
1 Sweeper, a pariah.
20 Boatmen, armed with pikes.
10 Guards, armed with matchlocks and swords.
1 Hackery driver.
2 Coolies, to carry my small table and chair.

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12*th November*.—My people having reposed a few hours

[1] I had profited but little by a few lessons in drawing which I had received in London from a master of the name of Burges. It certainly was not *his* fault, and perhaps not mine, that I did not learn more, for I was then preparing for India, and had a great many other things to attend to.

after their supper, I got up at twelve o'clock, and ordered the tent to be struck and put on the carriage, and we began our march soon after; the party which was to return to Futtighur with the fly of the tent setting off at the same time.

Leave five men to follow as a guard with the hackery, and move forward with the remainder. Road bad; principally from the depth of the sand. At four o'clock in the morning, after a tedious march, reach the Calinuddy, less remarkable for its own importance than as being the Calinasca of the Greeks. Its depth at this season is only four feet.

Having forded this stream, I walk five miles with a view to encourage my men, many of whom began to appear fatigued. Pass Dewar, a village on rather an elevated situation; though small it is defended by a gateway. Pass, also, Burry-Gunge, a town consisting of one long street running east and west. Near it a large tank. The houses of brick. Two old gateways at the western end. This was evidently a large town at no very distant period. Near one of the gates was a large cannon, and a single shot lying near it.

It being eight o'clock, the sun hot, the men tired, and the hackery probably far behind, I proposed stopping here, but Padre Juvenal said it was a dangerous village, and that it was necessary to go farther.

Having procured a little goats' milk from the inhabitants, we advanced about half-a-mile, and being then out of sight of the town, we halted.

To conceal ourselves from any passing troops of Mewatties, we soon after moved into a wood about a quarter of a mile from the road. All now lighted fires and prepared breakfast. Having still some bread and butter which we had brought from Futtighur, the Padre and myself had some water boiled, and made tea under a fine tree which we selected a little distance from the people. The Padre having, before breakfast, retired to his palanquin on the other side of the tree, returned in a few minutes after in a white robe and girdle, instead of the black

one in which I had always seen him hitherto. The change, which much surprised me, greatly altered his appearance. The motive which led to it I did not discover, but I guessed that it referred to the attack made upon the Padre when passing this way before. He had not been in good spirits since we were fairly upon the plain; he said, indeed, that he had not been quite well since his last journey. Anxious for the hackery, which had not yet arrived.

As I was walking in the grove with my gun in my hand, after breakfast, one of the ten sepoys, whose ill-temper I had before noticed, and who had then been attempting to excite dissatisfaction among my people, came towards me in a threatening manner. Upon my presenting the butt of my gun to keep him off, he put his hand to his tulwar,[1] upon which I instantly turned the gun, and pointed the muzzle at him. After muttering a few words he returned in very ill-humour to his companions. This incident might have been attended with serious consequences at the moment; and I was not certain that they were yet over, for my head servant said, a little while after, that he was very uneasy about this man, who was still much discontented, and he was afraid of his attempting some mischief, or, at least, of endeavouring to persuade his companions to return to Furruckabad. I desired him to try to soothe this turbulent soldier, and to attach the rest of his party towards us. In the course of the forenoon I addressed them all, regretting their fatigue and privations, which, however, I feared would still be greater, but said that I should always share them, and endeavour to reward them at the end of our journey.

This fortunate pacification was followed by the arrival of the hackery at half-past twelve, after a most laborious march for the poor bullocks and people of nearly twelve hours.

Receive an account that a body of Mewatties had the preceding day, two miles from the wood we were in, attacked and plundered twenty men, among whom were two sepoys. I

[1] A sword of a curved form.

had intended to move on in the afternoon, but this intelligence determined us to remain in the wood till night. As, however, there was scarcely any road visible over the plain, it would be difficult to find our way in the dark without a guide. I therefore sent my head man with two sepoys to the village we had passed in the morning. They were to buy something, and at the same time endeavour to bring back with them a man acquainted with the country. They returned with a peasant, who for a stipulated sum promised to conduct us; and all our party having taken their evening meal, and the tent being already on the hackery, we began our march soon after nine o'clock.

Our route had hitherto been over a sandy desert, and the country, as far as we could judge of it in the night, was far from improving as we advanced. We got on very slowly. My people seemed to have a notion that our guide was misleading us; but this impression was justly imputable to the badness of the road and to their own impatience. I rode by the man's side, and observed the direction of our march by a star in the west,[1] and was satisfied he was not attempting to deceive us. But notwithstanding all his care we probably were not always in the right path, for we were much embarrassed by numberless hillocks of sand, formed by the wind in the dry months, and in going over one of these the hackery was overturned. The driver was much discouraged. He had, indeed, the hardest work of the whole party. Nothing however was broken, and after some delay we moved forward again. At four in the morning we reached a small town, and encamped near it. Our journey during the night had been excessively tedious, but it was satisfactory to think that we had got safely over a country which would probably have been impassable in the day with our small and inefficient force.

It appeared, however, that the inconvenience of travelling over these plains in the night might be avoided if we could procure

[1] The star becoming obscured, I was assisted by the direction of the wind.

a few well-armed men from the town near us. In the forenoon, therefore, I sent my head servant to the cutwal or chief to request the favour of a few sepoys, and I added that I should have much pleasure in seeing him if he would honour me with a visit. He returned me a very polite answer, saying he would send me an escort and also pay me a visit in my tent. He arrived not long after, accompanied with many attendants, all armed. He was a dignified, well-bred man, with a deportment quite military. Finding that the defeat of the Rohillahs afforded him satisfaction, I informed him of my connexion with the General who had gained the victory. I did not know whether this communication stimulated his desire to assist us, but he promised to send *twenty* good men, which was double the number I had expected. Still he advised me not to proceed during the day, the parties of Mewatties which infested the plains being strong and numerous. The Padre and myself felt greatly obliged to this respectable chief for his civility and valuable services. He took leave and returned to his fort, and in the afternoon sent a set of nautch women to dance before us. In the evening the twenty sepoys arrived. They were fine, good-looking men, well-armed, some with long lances, others with swords and matchlocks, or bows and arrows.

14*th*.—Strike the tent at 8 P.M.; and at 9 begin another slow and wearying march, during which I was principally on my tanyan. Such was the difficulty of keeping the men together that the line sometimes extended a quarter of a mile, and I was obliged to halt the more advanced of the party for the stragglers to come up. At eight o'clock next morning reach Geewal, a small and very miserable village with no protection of any kind, or facility of defence in case of Mewatties appearing. The Padre observed that we were not safe here, and must proceed farther; but the people were very much fatigued, and were unwilling to go farther.

It was not far from this that the Padre was attacked on his former journey, and the recollection of that event always made

him uneasy. He complained of fever and remained in his palanquin all day, not joining me at dinner. I again therefore spoke to my people, represented to them the danger of our present situation and the expediency of moving on. This they now consented to do, and at 5 P.M. our little camp, comprising at present about eighty men, was in motion, and we marched, *cum lento gradu*, towards Arwun.

Soon after dark, when riding at the head of the line, I was surprised to see, nearly before us, but rather to the left, as if by the side of the road we were following, several lights. I immediately halted. The Padre, to whom everything was a Mewatty, said they were certainly the fires of a party of these marauders encamped near the roadside and preparing their supper. This seemed not improbable, since no *travellers* would remain thus on the plain all night. We moved, therefore, behind a hillock of sand, and remained there as quiet as possible, the matchlock men not extinguishing their matches, for there might be occasion to use them, but concealing them. I got into my palanquin, placed near the Padre's, and we had a long conversation—partly in Hindostanee, partly in Latin—my eyes fixed all the time upon the fires. After watching these nearly two hours, they gradually disappeared, and we concluded that the people, whoever they were, were gone to rest; and we soon therefore recommenced our march, making a deviation for some distance to the right of the road. Owing to these delays it was near eleven o'clock at night, instead of eight, before we reached the little village of Arwun, outside of which we halted, not from any fear of the inhabitants, but to avoid giving them uneasiness at such an hour.

15*th*.—Notwithstanding the fatigue of the men, it was necessary to awaken them from their short sleep soon after midnight and resume our march. The darkness of the night and depth of the sand caused us the same inconvenience and delay as before. The country around us at break of day was one entire plain of sand, on which no vegetation was visible

except now and then a patch of burnt grass or a solitary flower that wasted its sweetness on the desert air.

It was somewhere on this dreary plain that was fought the great battle already alluded to between the four sons of Shah Jehan. The town of Shekoabad, which we reached at eight o'clock, was named after one of these princes, and is said to have been his occasional residence as a hunting seat. Our position here not being considered safe, I moved on again, after a short halt made to relieve the excessive fatigue of my people. We had not gone far before we met a detachment of cavalry belonging to the Nabob of Oude, whom I had met at Dalmow. They were escorting a convoy of Cashmirean beauties to the royal seraglio of Lucnow. The ladies were all in covered palanquins and quite invisible, and their female attendants travelled in the same manner.

The country now differed from that we had passed, as being more covered with small hills of sand, which exposed us at every step to an ambuscade of Mewatties or of other wandering banditti. I saw several deer running between these hills. The hackery moving on very slowly, I took a few of my guards, and inviting Padre Juvenal to accompany me, went forward in my palanquin, crossing one continued desert in the direction of Firozabad, from which we were then distant about ten miles. At half-past eleven we reached the entrance of the town, after having passed by some old temples and gardens, signs of the greater consequence of Firozabad in former times.

Having stayed a few minutes outside the town, we decided upon entering it, and went to the serai—a large area surrounded by small rooms on a level with the ground. The hackery and the rest of my people did not arrive till three in the afternoon. The latter were very tired and apparently discouraged; but I endeavoured to animate them by the consideration that we were approaching the end of our journey. In these long and tedious marches the cook's bride rode patiently astride her little bull. I always saw her in the line, as this moved its slow length along,

her face partially uncovered by the folds of her koprah; but etiquette forbade my speaking to her, nor did I ever see her notice any one or receive any attention excepting from her husband. Her bull, by the bye, was an extremely handsome animal, though of very diminutive proportions, for it was scarcely taller than a middling-sized calf. Its colour was white, excepting a few dark brown marks about its legs and *muzzle* and on the summit of the hump which curled back from its shoulder.

In the afternoon the chief of the town paid me a visit. He was a very respectable officer in the service of Dowlut Rao Scindia, to whom Firozabad and the country over which we were now travelling were subject. Upon my inquiring if his town possessed any manufacture, he replied that it contained a manufacture of muskets for the army of General De Boigne. I mentioned the desire I had to send back the guard I had received at Munpoory, the last village, and asked him if he could oblige me with another in its stead. This he readily engaged to do. I said I purposed moving at one in the morning. He assured me that an escort should be in attendance at that hour.

16*th*.—At 1 o'clock A.M. begin our march with ten well-mounted and well-armed horsemen, sent by the Aumil of Firozabad. Progress very slow. At daybreak see many deer not far from us. An hour after the chief of the ten horsemen rode up to the side of my palanquin and informed me that a party of Mewatties was in sight. I quitted my palanquin, slung my curved sword over my shoulder, and mounted my horse, from which I had dismounted but a few minutes before, leaving my pistols in the holsters. I expected to see a body of horsemen, but could perceive nothing, till my attention was directed to a small cloud of dust at a considerable distance to our right, the rapid increase of which plainly marked the approach of horse. The Mewatties themselves were soon visible, and it was evident that they were making directly towards us. By calling back such of my people as were

forward and hastening up those who were behind we were soon assembled. Leaving the palanquins, hackery, and baggage upon the road, under charge of the Padre, I formed my little band a few yards in advance, placing the ten horsemen on the right, the boatmen with their spears in the centre, and the matchlock-men on the left, where I took my station. I was not, however, satisfied with this disposition, and therefore changed it, and mixed the boatmen with those armed with matchlocks. I thought that this would give the Bengalees more confidence, and that their spears would protect the matchlock-men while reloading after the first discharge.

The horsemen were now not far from us, still in a gallop. Their number was about fifty. I thought we were capable of making a pretty good defence against this force, and the Mewatties seemed to be of this opinion, for when arrived within musket shot they suddenly halted and formed in a line before us. To take advantage of this apparent hesitation, I ordered my men to advance, and when within point-blank shot I desired the matchlock men to level their guns and take a good aim, but not to fire till I gave the word. As soon as the Mewatties saw the matchlocks pointed against them at so short a distance, their sirdar, or leader, raised his hand as a signal to us not to fire, riding forward at the same time alone, as if to address us. When about half-way between the two lines he salaamed to me, and said in a loud voice, in good Hindostanee, that he perceived he had been mistaken; that seeing our dust at a distance he had imagined we were a party of Mewatties passing the plain, but now discovered that we were not enemies but friends. I was glad to accept this explanation, as ingenious certainly, as untrue. After a few words of friendly communication with this captain—a fine-looking man, well dressed and mounted, and worthy, no doubt, of more honourable warfare—he made me another respectful salaam, which I returned; when he rejoined his men, wheeled them to the left, and galloped off at their head to the north-east amidst a cloud of sand.

It was probable that we owed our escape on such easy terms to the presence of the ten horsemen we had procured the preceding night from the chief of Firozabad. There could be little doubt that without this escort we should have been attacked, and our resistance would probably only have had the effect of aggravating the result. It was the opinion indeed of Padre Juvenal that our ten horsemen would not have proved a sufficient defence, but that the Mewatties saw that they could not attack us without sustaining themselves considerable loss. It was conjectured that these men were a detachment from a larger party of two or three hundred, from which they had separated in the morning, and which was now probably not far off.

The people who lead this predatory life belong to an ancient tribe of Hindoos whose country lies to the north-west of the Jumna. They appear to have been long a formidable, or at least a numerous, people, since 100,000 are said to have been put to death at the same time by one of the early Mahomedan conquerors. Their language I supposed to be the Hindostanee since the Mewatty leader addressed me in that language. A visit to their country, which might perhaps be accomplished without much difficulty by the intervention of one of their own bands, would probably lead to some curious information, and possibly to the means of introducing amongst them habits of peaceful industry and good neighbourhood.

As I felt deeply interested in, and in some measure responsible for, the safety of Padre Juvenal, his escape this morning afforded me particular satisfaction. But all our inconveniences were drawing to a close. Agra was at no great distance. Yielding therefore to that impatience which one feels most towards the *end* of a journey or voyage, I determined to go forward with a part of the guard, and, taking the light baggage, leave the tent and rest of the people to follow. The Padre agreed to accompany me.

We had not marched more than eight or ten miles before,

passing over a sandy ridge, I saw, with a delight not to be expressed, the white dome of the Taje rising most beautifully and as if by magic above the distant line which bounded the plain to the west. A little to the right were the glittering points of the mosques of Agra. It seemed as if these brilliant objects had been set in the midst of a desert with the view of rendering their lustre more striking. Another hour brought us to the banks of the Jumna. Here, amongst numerous ruins, I visited a fine old mausoleum, and shortly after a second, still larger. We halted near the latter, and while breakfast was getting ready I sauntered about the widely-scattered remains of various other buildings, mouldering palaces, and dilapidated tombs. It was a spot on which Hamlet might moralise. The palaces of Agra, and the Taje-Mehal, the mansions of the living and of the dead, were immediately before us.

After breakfast, which, my table not being come up, we took off the top of my palanquin, I dismissed the ten horsemen with a present for their valuable services, and crossed the Jumna with Padre Juvenal, our attendants, palanquins, and my horse; a boat which had come over from the city holding us all. The joy of the padre on re-entering Agra was doubtless increased by the recollection of the two escapes he had had since his departure. Having passed through several streets principally narrow and without beauty, we arrived at a point at which it was necessary for my amiable companion and myself to separate, since he was going to his own house towards the Dehli gate, and I to the Taje-Mehal in the opposite direction. This good man now thanked me in terms much too impressive for the little service I had rendered him, not considering nor consenting to admit that the pleasure of his company and the advantage of his experience had made the obligation reciprocal, or rather had placed it on my side. Exchanging expressions of friendship and attachment, we promised to meet again as soon as settled in our respective quarters.

Asking my way through several streets, I reached the

northern gate of the city, when, turning to the left, I passed under the walls of the fort, and having regained the Jumna followed its course for about three miles, and arrived at the high walls which enclose the Taje-Mehal and its circumjacent buildings. The gates were shut, but were opened after a short parley with the derwan or porter, who even had the civility to accompany me through the interior courts to a large enclosed area, which he said was for the elephants and horses of the Padshah and his suwarree (the Emperor and his suite). I here got out of my palanquin, and accompanied by the derwan and my attendants, mounted a short flight of steps leading to a beautiful portal, which formed the centre of this side of the Court of the Elephants, as the great area was called. Passing through this noble entrance I found myself in a vast garden containing thousands of orange trees, with their ripe fruit upon them. A walk paved with flat red stone led through this grove of perfumes to another range of steps, by which I ascended to a magnificent terrace, bounded on the opposite side by the Jumna; to my right and left, at right angles to the river, by a light colonnade, and from the centre of which rose the architectural glory of India, the celebrated Taje-Mehal, or structure containing the imperial tombs.

After a few moments of admiration and delight I walked across the terrace to the left till I came to the colonnade, which bounds it in that direction, and proceeding along it entered an elegant pavilion hanging immediately over the river. In this enchanting situation, the Jumna at my feet, the Taje and its orange groves before me, I determined to establish myself and await the arrival of my people, left behind with the tent.

In the evening I walked about the noble terrace and luxuriant gardens of my charming residence, of which I seemed to be the master, for the derwan and his men, who had accompanied me from the outer gate, having returned to their post, I saw nobody belonging to the place excepting a few gardeners among the orange trees. I also rambled about every part of

the Taje itself, enjoying a feast that seemed too great for me alone, and I could not help wishing for the presence of the Commander-in-chief or of some of my companions up the Ganges.

The Taje, or that part at least which contains the tombs, is a large square building of white marble, reposing on a second terrace, raised upon the more extended one to which I had mounted from the garden. From each of the four angles of the smaller terrace, which is entirely of white marble, rises a minaret of the most beautiful form, encircled at different heights by light galleries, and terminating with a dome resting on light columns, the whole of white marble. In the interior of each minaret I found steps leading to the top. The chief building, which rests upon the marble terrace, is crowned with a marble dome of most elegant proportions. Nothing in architecture can well exceed the beauty of this structure viewed from my pavilion at the corner of the grand terrace.

But the magnificent exterior is but the rich envelope of the costlier treasures the interior contains. An elegant entrance of sculptured marble leads to a beautiful chamber of octagonal form, the roof of which is formed by the concavity of the dome. The walls of this chamber are of white marble, divided into compartments by broad borders of cornelians and other stones inlaid with extraordinary art. Around the middle of the floor is an elegant marble screen about six feet high, perforated with light lattice work, and the pilasters and divisions ornamented with beautiful mosaic. Within this screen, which has an opening opposite the entrance to the chamber, are those beautiful works, the *chefs d'œuvre* of art in the East, the sarcophagi of the Emperor Shah Jehan and his favourite Begum Taje-Mehal or Noor-Mehal, both epithets rather than names. These tombs are about four feet in height, and are formed of three oblong slabs of different dimensions laid one upon the other, the largest forming the base. The whole is of the finest white marble elaborately worked, its highly-polished surface being inlaid with cornelians in the form of bands and

wreaths of flowers. A small rose in one of these wreaths near the foot of the Begum's tomb particularly attracted my attention, and may serve as a specimen of the elaborate and beautiful execution which pervaded the whole work. Though so small that I could cover it with the end of my thumb, it contained sixty pieces of cornelian, but so artfully united that no junction was visible. The various tints and shades of the leaves were represented by different shades of the same stone, or by different species of stone, of which ten were said to be discernible. The beauty of this mosaic was the more extraordinary since the art was no longer known in India. It was not even known for certain where the fine cornelians employed in this work were found.[1]

The *real* tombs of the Emperor and his wife, where their remains were deposited, are in another chamber, immediately beneath the one described, and are as admirable for their beautiful simplicity as those above are for their splendour. The same elegance and good taste are observable in both.

The construction of the Taje was begun about the year 1630, and is said to have occupied 20,000 men for 22 years, and to have cost a crore of rupees.[2] It was the intention of the

[1] Some said these stones were brought from the Soane in the districts of Shahabad and Rotas, while others treated as fabulous the existence of cornelians in that river. When some years afterwards I had charge of the country watered by the Soane, this question of its containing the cornelians which supplied the beautiful mosaics of Dehli and Agra, induced me to write to the Ranee or Princess of Tilowta, one of my landowners, whose estates lay upon the banks of the Soane, to request her to have the bed of that river searched at a proper season and send me any unusual stones that might be found. Some time after a messenger arrived with a letter from the Ranee, accompanied by a bullock carrying, swung across its back, two sacks filled with stones taken from the bed of the Soane about eighty miles from its confluence with the Ganges and not far from the Rotas hills. I ordered the bullock-driver to empty the sacks near the door of my house, and upon examining them a considerable part proved to be cornelians, thus establishing the fact that stones similar to those used in the mosaic of the Taje, *might* at least have come from the Soane. Besides, in the old imperial baths in the city of Sasseram, in which I generally bathed when visiting this part of my district, there was mosaic similar to that of Dehli and Agra: there could be no doubt but *this* was composed of cornelians from the Soane.

[2] About a million sterling.

Emperor to build a similar mausoleum for himself, on the opposite side of the river, and to unite the two by a handsome bridge; but his death, or rather, perhaps, the distractions of the latter years of his life, prevented the accomplishment of this extravagant design. His reputation could hardly have gained in any respect by its execution, for few signs of human vanity are more contemptible than the monument which a monarch raises to his own fame at the expense of his people.

Shah Jehan died in the year 1666. His throne was occupied after his death, and indeed some years previous, by his son, the celebrated Aurungzebe.

Though the reign of Shah Jehan was strongly marked with the usual vicissitudes of eastern sovereignty, and embittered and shortened by the rebellion of his sons, this prince has certainly left to India the most beautiful sepulchral monument the world possesses. Asking Padre Juvenal one day what he thought of St. Peter's at Rome, and of the Taje, he said that the latter was the only building that could be compared with St. Peter's; and, indeed, while the work of Buonarotti excites our admiration by its stupendous proportions and unrivalled magnificence, the comparatively unknown production of an unknown Indian delights us not less by its incomparable delicacy and elegance. The beauties of the Taje more than satisfy all expectation, and more than requite the fatigue and risks of the desert; they leave nothing to desire, to the traveller who beholds them, but the possibility of describing them. But though no pen can describe, and no pencil trace, the beauty of the Taje, its character may be conceived from an expression of the celebrated Zoffany—"It wanted," he said, "nothing but a glass case to cover it."

My tent and people not arriving in the course of the evening, I began to feel uneasy. Although we seemed to be beyond the limits of danger when I came forward, I now reproached myself for the impatience which had led me to advance without them. I slept in my palanquin, placed in the colonnade leading to my pavilion.

17*th November*.—The hackery and men not having arrived during the night, I mounted my horse at four o'clock this morning to go to Agra, hoping to find them there, or get some information about them. All, however, I could learn was, that they certainly had not entered the city.

Instead of returning to my quarters, I determined to pass through the city, and ride to Secundra, three coss[1] on the road to Dehli, for the purpose of seeing the mausoleum of the Emperor Acbar. Padre Juvenal had described the road from Agra to Secundra as unsafe; but the morning being fine, and having my sword and pistols with me, I was disposed to take my chance. The success which I had had so far had not made me blind to peril, but it had produced a strong confidence in my good fortune, and impressed me with an assurance that I should escape, even when I saw danger immediately before me.

I found the road very sandy, and bordered by ruined habitations on both sides, quite deserted. I had no difficulty in finding the object of my ride, the gateway leading to the tomb being a large building by the roadside. It resembled in many respects the grand entrance to the garden of the Taje, from the Court of the Elephants, but excelled the latter in having beautiful minarets of white marble at the four angles of the building, though about two-thirds alone of these ornaments now remained, the upper parts having been struck and thrown down by lightning. On each side of the entrance are recesses, intended, apparently, to relieve the heaviness and uniformity of the front. The exterior is highly wrought and inlaid with stones of different colours. This gateway is considered one of the finest monuments of Hindostan.

A respectable Hindoo, who, with his family, occupied a part of the ground floor of the building, as guardian of the place, conducted me through an extensive park to the mausoleum. Here I dismounted, and followed my guide through the various passages and chambers of the building. It is a large square,

[1] Five or six miles.

symmetrical edifice of stone and marble. Being finally led to the top, I was shown, in the centre of a flat terrace, the sarcophagus of the Emperor, composed of the most beautiful marble I had yet seen. Its transparency was such that I seemed to see into it. "Acbar," in Persian letters of black marble, beautifully inlaid in the white, was the only inscription.

India, like other countries, has produced but few monarchs who have *deserved* to be called "great." Of these, Acbar certainly has the best claim to this title. He was only fourteen years of age when the death of his father, himself a virtuous prince, raised him to the throne of the Mogols, on which he sat nearly fifty years, surrounding it during that period with more pure splendour than any other prince of the house of Timor, either before or since. It is singular that this great king governed in the East at the same time that the greatest, or at least the most popular, sovereigns reigned in the West; and though, in appreciating the merits of a monarch, it seems just to compare him with the princes of his *own* country, the fame of Acbar would perhaps lose nothing in a comparison with that of Elizabeth of England, or of Henry of France. He had, too, in Byram Khan, a Cecil to guide him with his counsel, and in Abul Fazil a Sully to record his virtues.

Acbar was the eighth Emperor of the House of Timor. He was born in the year 1542, ascended the throne in 1556, and died in 1605. I was shown the tombs of two of his sons, and of two of his grandchildren, buried in the same mausoleum. His eldest son having died before him, he was succeeded on the throne by his second son, the Emperor Jehangir, whose filial piety caused this fine sepulchre, and the grand gateway, to be erected.

Acbar showed great indulgence to the Portuguese established on the coast of Malabar. He invited their priests to Agra, inquired personally respecting their religion, and treated them with great tolerance and consideration, enjoining his subjects everywhere, and the local authorities where they were settled, to behave towards them with respect.

It was during the reign of this Emperor that the adventurous association, then purely mercantile, called the East India Company, visited India—

Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos—

and *is received with unsuspecting indulgence.*

Much gratified with this visit to Acbar's tomb, I accompanied my civil and intelligent guide back through the park, and taking leave of him at the door of his solitary abode, galloped back to Agra.

The long streets which I passed through, between the northern and southern gates, were far from presenting the population, commerce, and wealth of the cities of Bengal, Behar, and Benares. The extreme heat of the city of Agra, from the surrounding plains of sand, and the destruction to which it was exposed in the conflicts of contending parties during the latter years of the empire, are sufficient to account for so great a decline from the prosperity it enjoyed in the days of Acbar. Passing through the city without stopping, I soon regained the Taje, and was truly happy to find there the hackery and my people. No accident had happened to them, their progress having been retarded by fatigue alone, and the depth of the sand.

Having heard much of Futtipore Sicri, about twenty-five miles to the west of the Jumna, I determined to visit that town, provided I could procure an escort, the insecure state of the road rendering this necessary. I accordingly sent my head servant and a couple of Peons to the Killahdar,[1] requesting he would send me a guard. I should have had some doubt of his being inclined to comply with this request; but I was already considered a person of some consequence, and my head servant was too good a plenipotentiary not to make the most of this impression. The Killahdar received my message with great politeness, and after a few inquiries promised an escort. Soon after the

[1] The Governor or Commander of the fort of Agra.

return of my servant, some of his people arrived from Agra, bringing me a present of two sheep, fowls, fruit, and vegetables.

In the afternoon I sent off some of my men with my breakfast things, half way to Futtipore, with directions to proceed to that place early the next morning. In the evening ten horsemen arrived from the Governor of Agra.

At half-past ten I set off by torchlight, and reached Futtipore soon after daybreak the next morning.

18*th November.*—The principal attractions of Futtipore are the tomb of Selim, high priest of Acbar, and a palace of this Emperor. The tomb is on one side of an extensive paved square, the approach to which is through a long and stately portal of red stone. The effect of this entrance is increased, or *heightened* it might be said, by its standing upon an artificial eminence, about fifty hauts[1] above the natural level of the hill. The height of the arch of the gateway is about sixty cubits. I ascended the top by 120 steps, and could there distinguish the dome and minarets of the Taje. The tomb of the high priest, though inferior to that of the Emperor, his master, which I had seen the day before, was on a large scale, occupying one side of the paved square. A monument more modest would have marked the piety and attachment of the Padshah, and shown more consideration for the wants of his people.

The palace is an extensive building, principally of red stone. Near it is a large tank, in which the Emperor used to have boats of various descriptions. In one of the interior courts I observed that the stones were placed in the form of a chess board, and I was told that the Emperor used to play at chess[2] here, placing a requisite number of the imperial harem upon the different squares.

[1] Cubits.

[2] Or rather, probably, considering the sportive character of the circumstances, one of the more easy and familiar games of Hindostan, *resembling* chess, though this pre-eminent game is well known in India. Indeed, Sir William Jones considers it undoubted that this game, and even its different European names, are all of Hindoo origin.

I spent the day agreeably in this palace, and in the gardens belonging to it. In the latter was an extraordinary number of peacocks. I was told before going to Futtipore that these birds were considered sacred by the inhabitants, and I had accordingly cautioned my people not to molest them. Whilst, however, I was walking in the garden, I suddenly heard a great noise, and presently the guards of the palace brought me one of the men who had accompanied me from the Ganges. He was about, they said, to shoot one of the peacocks. They were extremely angry, and I was obliged to appear scarcely less so, and to reprove the offender with severity before the people. Indeed, had one of these birds been killed, the consequences might have been most serious to us all.

Futtipore was a populous town in the time of Acbar, but now contained only 4000 inhabitants. In the evening I quitted it, escorted by the ten Mahrattah horsemen, who galloped about my palanquin all night. At an early hour in the morning I reached the Taje. My Mahrattahs picketed their horses in the Court of the Elephants till sunrise, when, having made them a present, I sent them back to Agra, with a Persian note to the Governor, acknowledging their good conduct and my obligation to himself. I added that I should take an opportunity of repeating this acknowledgment in person before I left Agra.

During my absence the preceding day, the following note had arrived from Padre Juvenal :—

Ad Dominum Thomam Twining.

Domine—Credebam te videre, in civitatem Agræ, at frustratus sum istâ voluptate. Intelligo, quod tu es digressurus versus Futtipore : summe doleo quod non possum esse tuus comes : sed spero rediturum quam citius in istam metropolim desertam. Interea vale : ego quoque optime valeo. Tuus servus verus. Agræ, 18 9mbris 1794. Juvenalis M.

I passed some time this morning in examining the tombs in the Taje. I was sorry to perceive on the walls traces of attempts to remove some of the cornelians, the most beautiful being selected for these dilapidations. Walked among the

orange trees. A prodigious quantity of fruit now ripe. These oranges have a beautiful appearance on the trees, but their peel is thick, and their juice is inferior to that of the oranges of Europe.

I examined, more particularly, the fine gateway leading from the Court of the Elephants to the garden. It is of red stone, inlaid with white marble. In the latter were inscriptions from the Koran, in characters formed of black marble. On each side of the great arch are two others of smaller proportions. The space between these is filled up with mosaic. At the four angles of the building are pavilions, bearing domes of white marble. A range of small cupolas, resting upon a light arcade, extends along the summit of the front. The whole is very beautiful, and worthy of the building to which it leads.

Visit a large palace, more to the right, or lower down the Jumna. It belonged, I was told, to Acbar's chief eunuch.

Another subject now divided my attention. I had a great desire to reach Dehli, provided I could make the necessary arrangements for that journey, for the inconveniences experienced on the road to Agra suggested many changes as indispensable. The route being more unsafe, it was desirable to have a more efficient escort—such an one as would enable me to march in the day, and avoid the harassing delay and difficulty which had attended our night marches. I believed that the appearance of the boatmen had been of essential service the morning the Mewatties came down upon us; but I could not reasonably engage them further in a capacity so contrary to their habits. A smaller number of really efficient men would be more manageable during the march, and more useful in case of attack. I decided, therefore, to send back all my boatmen, and also the hackery and tent, which had proved so great an embarrassment. I considered that I could sleep in my palanquin under a tree, or in the square of a serai. The ten matchlock-men from the city of Furruckabad would have been useful, and I had hoped to retain them, but their engage-

ment terminated at Agra, and they were unwilling to engage in similar hardships farther from home.

My eight palanquin-bearers also, and the carriers of my baggage, wished to return to the Ganges. I had therefore much to do before I could proceed farther. It was necessary to procure new bearers, and a force upon whose fidelity and courage I could depend, to supply the place of my former guard and of the eighteen boatmen. A further supply of money also was necessary, the sum which I had brought with me from Futtighur being nearly exhausted. Although I had already found that few difficulties in travelling are insurmountable, I should undoubtedly have experienced considerable embarrassment in my present situation if I had not had such a friend as Padre Juvenal to apply to. I wrote to the Padre and stated my desire to procure, with his aid, ten bearers, twenty matchlock-men, or men otherwise well armed, and 600 rupees, for which I would give a hoondy, or draft, on Calcutta. I wished, I said, to leave Agra, as soon as these arrangements, if they were practicable, could be completed.

20th November.—After breakfast this morning I went into Agra, with as much state as my limited means enabled me to assume, to pay my respects to the Governor in return for his civilities to me, and also to see the interior of the fort. I took with me, besides my eight bearers, my head servant, my two chuprassies, and my ten matchlock-men, armed with their swords alone, without their muskets. Finding the gate of the fort closed, I desired the derwan to announce my arrival and the object of my visit to the Governor. In a few minutes the gate was opened for my admission. Leaving my armed people outside, in conformity to etiquette, I entered the fort by a lofty arch fronting the city, and was most politely received by the Governor, a Mahrattah general, attended by his officers, forming altogether a martial and splendid group. After acknowledging the attentions I had received, we remained a few minutes in conversation, when, anticipating my curiosity, he invited me to

see the Mooty Musjed and other remarkable objects the fort contained.

Upon accepting this offer, he himself accompanied me to the celebrated building here mentioned. It is a Mahomedan mosque, not very considerable as to size, but meriting its celebrity by the beauty of its materials and the fascinating elegance of its proportions. It may be considered the St. George's Chapel of the Mogol emperors when Agra was the capital of India. Its walls are of the choicest white marble, elegantly sculptured and ornamented with mosaic, and with extracts from the Koran in Persian letters of black marble. The vicissitudes of human power were strongly presented to my mind as I, a Christian traveller, was conducted by a follower of Brahma over the beautiful and still polished floor of this Mussulman temple, on which it would once certainly have been fatal to either of us to set a foot.

The Governor next showed me other buildings differing from each other more in variety than in degree of beauty. Amongst these was the ancient palace of Acbar and of Shah Jehan, in which the former experienced the smiles and the latter the frowns of fortune. But the object which most struck me was a colonnade of white marble. The columns and arches were of extraordinary lightness and elegance, and sculptured with a degree of skill and taste no less remarkable. I inquired for the famous trellis, with the vine bearing rubies instead of grapes. Were not the fact of this regal extravagance apparently well attested, it would be reasonable to doubt the existence of a work so little in accordance with the good taste which produced the Taje. Some beautiful parts of the trellis still remained, but the vine and rubies had disappeared. It is presumable that the stones representing the grapes were no other than cornelians similar to those used in the Taje, and brought probably from the bed of the Soane.

The General next took me upon the ramparts towards the Jumna. They commanded an extensive view of the course of

that river, and across the country which I had passed over in the last stage of our journey. Between the walls and the river was a piece of ground on which the battles between the imperial elephants used to take place. This seems to have been a favourite exhibition among the princes of India. Acbar was a great *sportsman*, and probably was fond of such sights. Although these combats scarcely exist now, excepting at the court of Oude, they continue to be a common subject for the pencil of Indian artists. I have frequently had pictures brought to me for sale representing these battles. The elephants were described rushing at each other with their tails straight out and their trunks raised in the air, out of the way of injury.

The Commandant having shown me everything that was remarkable, and last of all a cannon of extraordinary size near the gate, I took leave of this dignified military chief, whose polite manners had contributed much to the gratification I had received.

I had intended visiting a Hindoo temple of which I had heard, situated under a banyan tree near the city; but the sun being now high and very warm, I was disposed to return at once to my quarters, where I expected a communication from Padre Juvenal, which would probably determine my future plans. In fact, on my arrival at my pavilion I found the following note:—

DOMINE MI—Credo quod si tu veneris in Agram, poteris invenire homines oneris; ego enim scribam Gubernatori pro tali negotio. Valde gaudebo te videre, sum etenim, Domine, tuus affectissimus servus,

Agræ, 20 9mbris, P. JUVENALIS.
1794, horâ septimâ matutinâ.

In the course of the day I received a further proof of the Padre's friendly zeal—

Ad Dominum Twining.

DOMINE MI—Ecce ego mitto ad te milites, quibus dedi triginta argenteos. Crastinâ die fave mecum prandere; etiam alius Dominus Gallus tecum prandebit. Spero tantum favorem. 560 Rupys teneo ad ordinem tuum. Vale, Domine mi, tuus addictissimus

P. JUVENALIS, M.

P.S.—Alios quinque dedi: quod est triginta quinque: 35.
Agrae, 20 9mbris 1794.

The chief obstacles to the extension of my journey to Dehli being thus removed, I spent the afternoon of this day in making the necessary preparations. Settle the accounts of the bullock-driver, matchlock-men, and others who were to return to Futtighur. Write to my manjir, informing him of my arrival at Agra, of the good conduct of the boatmen, and of my intention to go on to Dehli, recommending my things on board the boats to his care during my prolonged absence.

In the evening I received the following from the Padre :—

DOMINE MI—"Veni hâc nocte si vis: amplus locus est. Tres lectuli sunt in domo meâ. Si non venis in hâc nocte, veni secundum promissionem tuam.

Argentum preparatum est, et paupertas mea contentissima est tui amplixus. Vale ergo, Domine et amice mi, tuus ex corde expectans,

20 9mbris, horâ sextâ noctis, 1794. P. F. JUVENALIS.

I dined to-day with Padre Juvenal, but without meeting the *alius Gallus;* at least, neither my note nor my memory records this circumstance.

His habitation was a very small house attached to his church. He conducted me to the latter, descending into it by a narrow private staircase from one of his rooms, which were all raised one storey above the ground. He showed me the altar and every other part. Great simplicity and neatness prevailed throughout. Upon my inquiring respecting the success of his mission, he said that he experienced great difficulty and discouragement. His converts had never exceeded twenty, and were now only twelve, consisting of his own servants, and a few Hindoos who had lost their caste. Despairing of better success for the future, and having very indifferent health, he had ventured to ask the Pope to allow him to leave India, but his Holiness had replied by recommending fortitude and patience. "Thus," said the padre, "I little expect ever to see Rome again."

During the preceding summer he had been extremely ill, and had saved his life, he believed, by bleeding himself. He

told me that he had twice narrowly escaped great danger : once on the occasion already referred to, the other when mounting the Ganges. The small budgerow he was in sank in a storm a little above Allahabad, and he knew not, he said, how he reached the shore, for the water was deep and he could not swim. He gave a curious account of his struggling upon the surface of the stream, his loose robe floating about him,—whether impeding his exertions or really supporting him, he could hardly tell. Everything he possessed was lost, and he was ill for some time after.

He had made two excursions to Thibet, and resided there long enough to be able to compile a dictionary of the language. He showed me this laborious work, now nearly completed, although he said another journey to Thibet would be necessary. When terminated, he meant to transmit one copy of it to Rome and another to the University of Oxford, of which, at his request, I gave him the address.

It was under Acbar—the most tolerant, as well as the ablest of the Mogol Emperors—that the Padre's church was erected. It had now existed nearly two hundred years—a long period, when the important revolutions of that interval, the absolute authority of that monarch, and the characteristic intolerance of his religion, are considered. As the Padre conducted me over his modest temple, I could not but feel it remarkable that the unprotected altar of a faith equally abjured by the Mahomedan and Hindoo rulers, and which the slightest breath of displeasure from either would have swept away, should have remained untouched amidst convulsions which had subverted the power and changed the religion of the state. It is true that Aurungzebe, always jealous of whatever might diminish or disturb the unprecedented extent of his power, viewed the Christian edifice with some degree of disapprobation ; and yet an order to remove the bell, which might indeed interrupt the prayers of the Mussulmen, may be considered as an act rather of moderation than of intolerance or persecution.

After spending a few most pleasant hours with Padre Juvenal, I returned to my quarters in the Taje-Mehal.

The company of this amiable and accomplished man would have been prized amidst the social resources of his native city; but here, in these desert plains, remote from European intercourse, it possessed an indescribable charm. The conversation of the Padre united the greatest ease with superior intelligence, and sometimes possessed as much playfulness, and even humour, as could have been expected in his old countryman and namesake.

21*st.*—Receive the following note from the Padre :—

Agræ, 21 9mbris, 1794.

Domine—Hesternâ die veneram in Tagy Ghung cum sexcentis cyclis argenteis pro te, sed non inveni. Viginti milites sunt a me inventi pro 18 diebus : unicunque dabitur summa trium syclorum ; sed capiti eorum, dicto Graiumadar, dabis tres syclos cum dimidio. Ab hodiernâ die incipit pactum. Ego dedi illis anticipatos triginta syclos. Residuum 30 syclorum cum dimidio dabis in Dehly, vel alibi, ad arbitrium tuum. Mitte hominem confidentiæ ad quem ego tradam quingentos et sexaginta syclos argenteos que superfuerunt ex triginta demptis pro militibus. Mitte quoque mihi rescriptum citius summa et scribe ut mittatur ad me in Agram unum *Oondy* 600 argenteorum *Ally* in eodem valore quam tibi mitto. Mitto etiam piscem et panem, pro mea possibilitate. Hodie non possum venire apud te. Parce. Recipe etiam descriptionem Itineris breviorem. Credo te videre, debis enim necessario transire ante portam domus meae, juxta quam iter tuum est. Salve et vale. Ego sum semper, Domine mi, Tuus addictissimus servus,

P. F. Juvenalis.

22*nd.* — This morning my boatmen, hackery, and guards set off on their way back to the Ganges. A few of the boatmen, expressing a desire to go to Muttra, remained with me. At nine I inspect my new sepoys, and am much satisfied with their appearance. Their guns were a foot longer than an English musket, and very well made. The match consisted of a piece of dry thin rope, which was attached to the hammer instead of a flint, and depressed upon the powder by a trigger under the stock, as in a common gun. When marching, one man alone carries his match lighted, the others lighting theirs

when necessary. The bows which some few of the men had were made of the horn of the buffalo, and bent in the form of the ancient or *classic* bow.

The arrows—made of reed, handsomely painted and pointed with iron—were carried in a quiver slung behind the shoulder. These bows, which are hard to draw and carry a considerable distance, appeared a formidable weapon in the hands of an expert marksman. The bowmen had swords also for close quarters.

Having made presents and expressed my thanks to the persons about the Taje, from whom I had received the most friendly attention during my rather long usurpation, at 1 P.M. I quitted my pavilion, and crossed the great terrace and orange garden to the principal gate leading to the spacious Court of the Elephants; and having here mustered all my people, began our march.

Leaving on our right, first, the old fighting ground of the elephants, and next the fort, we reached the city, and passing before the great gate by which I had entered the fort, reached the principal street leading to the Dehli gate, and arrived at the door of Padre Juvenal, whom I found expecting me.

I could stop with him only a few moments; during these he gave me a few final hints which he had prepared for my guidance, and a list of such places on the road as I should endeavour to avoid. He said he wished me to take his watch to Calcutta to be repaired, but should not give it me till my return. The most affectionate expressions of anxiety for my safety were the last words I was ever to hear from the lips of this most amiable and interesting man.

Leaving the city by the road I had before taken when going to see the tomb of Acbar, I again reached, at the distance of six miles, all lined by ruins, the great gateway of Secundra, already described. Here I halted for a few minutes, and then mounted my horse.

The road continued along ruins, and was extremely sandy.

It was not till I was some way beyond Secundra that these mournful traces of the old city disappeared entirely. This vast space, once so peopled, now contained not a single inhabitant. The country before me appeared a complete waste, similar to that by which I had reached Agra. As Colonel Palmer was passing this way to reach the Court of Scindia, as ambassador from the British Government, accompanied by his son and 200 of the Company's sepoys, he was attacked by a body of Mewatties. Several of the sepoys were killed in the battle which ensued, and the Mewatties succeeded in carrying off a good deal of plunder and two horses, one of which, belonging to Captain Palmer, was of great value.

Early in the evening passed by a small village, whose wall seemed to indicate the insecurity of the country. Although our march had been less irksome than in the former part of the journey, and I already experienced a great relief in the absence of the hackery, it was nine o'clock, owing chiefly to the depth of the sand, before we reached Pearah, a small village eight coss from Agra. During this march I had seen no cultivation, excepting immediately round the solitary hamlet we had passed in the evening.

I went into the serai, a small enclosure having only one entrance, and surrounded in the usual way by little rooms about six feet square. I took possession of one of these, placing in it my chair and table; my palanquin, in which I was to sleep, being placed a few feet before the door, or entrance rather, for there never was a *door* to these cabins. Some few of my people occupied other rooms, but the greater number remained in groups, near headquarters, outside. All procured pots for cooking, earthen plates, and wood, rice, herbs, spices, etc.—all of which are always for sale in or near a serai—and began preparing their supper, placing the pots for boiling the rice over fires made in small excavations in the ground. In this way my cook prepared my curry and rice. The sepoys slept near my palanquin, lying upon mats spread on the ground

and covering themselves from head to foot with the long cloth which forms their kummerbund or girdle during the day.

23*rd*.—March at five, after making the customary small present to the keeper of the serai. Country more free from sandhills, and some little cultivation; but come at last to a dreary sandy plain, which extended to the horizon in every direction. Sun hot, and a hot dazzling reflection from the sand. People fatigued and thirsty, but no wells. Several wild deer in sight. At twelve o'clock, after a fatiguing march of seven hours, reach a small and miserable village, but near the road discover the ruins of a good serai. Breakfast here. March again at two, with the intention of reaching Muttra. Heavy sand. The people again complain of fatigue and thirst.

Being near a small village, the captain of the sepoys came up to me, and informed me that his men refused to march any further. I was sorry to see this insubordination among my new guard, but I thought it better to submit than weaken my authority still more by a vain resistance. I knew that the men were really tired and oppressed, and I wished to make the journey as agreeable as possible to all the party. I therefore told the captain that it was indifferent to me where we halted; that I had wished to go farther, but that as his men were fatigued I was willing to remain there. As this, however, was one of the villages at which Padre Juvenal had particularly cautioned me not to stop, I moved to about 200 yards from it, on the road to Dehli.

We had not, however, taken up our station long before a stranger approached me, and said that we were not safe on the spot I had chosen, and advised me to go into the village. I did not know what to think of this proposition, especially after Padre Juvenal's caution. Before deciding, therefore, I determined to take a few of the sepoys with me, and survey the place and its inhabitants. I was surprised to find scarcely anybody in the streets, but arriving at a pagoda I found it surrounded by a considerable number of Hindoos, who made their salaams to a

small image which I could but imperfectly see. I stopped and observed this multitude, with the outward respect which a traveller owes to the religious worship of every people amongst whom he finds himself.

Their manner was quiet and decorous. I gradually, however, became the object of much curiosity, but this was guarded and respectful, and wholly free from every sign of repugnance or incivility. I spoke to some persons returning from their prayers. I informed them that I came from Bengal, where I knew many learned Bramins, that I had received great attention from the Killahdar of Acbarabad (the Governor of Agra), and that I was now on my way to Dehli to see the great Mogol.

I asked them if they had any curiosities in their village. They replied that there was a remarkable tomb near it, and on my desiring to see it they conducted me back to the Agra gate, and showed me not far from the roadside a plain tomb measuring twenty-seven feet in length. I could get, however, no information respecting this gigantic sepulchre, excepting that it was of great antiquity, and that the person buried there was of the same length as the tomb.

Upon my inquiring about the state of the road I was to take the following day, they said that Mewatties, Pindarrees, and Gujers frequently appeared, and that there was no safety for themselves beyond their wall, and they strongly advised me to come within this during the night.

From all I had observed I was now satisfied that these people, if treated with civility and confidence, were not dangerous, and I accordingly despatched one of my attendants to the halting-ground to desire all my party to move into the village immediately. There was, however, no regular serai, but a small open space near the Dehli gate where travellers stopped. Here a few sheds had been erected, and in one of them I put my chair and table, and by the light of a small lamp procured in the village I wrote these notes while my curry and rice were being prepared.

I had not long made these arrangements before another traveller arrived, accompanied by a very strong escort and numerous attendants. They almost filled the space remaining, and I was afraid of their interfering with my guards. The great man on getting out of his palanquin took possession of a little room very near mine. I made a salaam to him, and said a few words. From his reply it appeared that he came from Dehli, and was going to Oujein, south of Agra. This, to my disappointment, was the extent of our communication, he showing a haughtiness and reserve that precluded further intercourse. My head man told me in the course of the evening that my proud neighbour was a celebrated Mussulman itinerant, who by begging or by donations, extorted by the supposed sanctity of his character, among the princes of Hindostan had amassed thirty lacs of rupees (£300,000). It was said that the Nabob of Oude had given him at one time a lac of rupees, or more than £10,000. I saw no particular reason to doubt the truth of this story.

24*th*.—March at daybreak. The royal mendicant with his suite was preparing to move at the same time. Country a perfect waste till we came to the sacred and poetic towers of Muttra. The approach to this celebrated town, as well as its situation, is very pleasant, it being surrounded by gardens and groves, whose verdant foliage presents a refreshing contrast with the glare of the surrounding desert. I was not surprised that the Hindoos should have chosen this spot for the abode of their Apollo. When I reached the beginning of the town, and was passing under a garden wall, I perceived several monkeys following me on the top of this, looking at me with much grimace, and seeming inclined to jump on the top of my palanquin, or *into* it. I soon, however, came to the houses, which stopped their pursuit. Having passed through a few narrow streets I turned to the right, and coming to the Jumna halted under a large tree which stood between one of the gardens of the town and the river. This I had not seen since leaving Agra.

The town of Muttra is large and populous, and probably

rich, though without an external appearance of wealth. The great number of pilgrims, many of them possessing great property, who come hither from most parts of India supply the place of commerce, or rather are themselves a commerce, and doubtless a lucrative one, all bringing something, and taking nothing away.

Muttra or Bindabad is celebrated in Indian poetry as the residence of Krishna, the Apollo of Hindoo mythology, and of his wife Radha, whose exploits form no inconsiderable portion of the extravagance of Hindoo fable. But this town is chiefly held in veneration as the birthplace of Shiva, one of the principal personages of the Hindoo pantheon, forming with Brahma and Vishnoo the great Hindoo triad, viz. Brahma, the creative power; Vishnoo, the principle of preservation; and Shiva, that of destruction. But passing by this abstruse subject, or leaving it for separate observation, I will now describe the two principal temples erected to the deities of the place. These are now at some distance from the Jumna, though this river once flowed by them. They are of red stone, lofty, and of a conical form. Their surface is divided into a vast number of small regular compartments, very highly sculptured, but in a style that displays more labour than taste. The character of the architecture resembles that of the Egyptians, and is rather curious than elegant. The state of these monuments does not seem to imply an antiquity so great as tradition assigns them. They were perhaps constructed to renew or replace more ancient temples dilapidated by time or destroyed by the Mahomedan invaders.

In the town I saw several pagodas. One, in particular, was surrounded by a prodigious number of people. As far as I could judge from seeing it at a distance over the heads of the multitude, it was small and without exterior ornament. It probably contained an image of Krishna or Shiva.[1] I also saw a large

[1] The religions of India, like those of Europe, have their schisms. The Mussulmen are divided into two great sects, the followers of Osman and of Ally; and the Hindoos, who to us appear so united, are divided into the worshippers of Vishnoo and Shiva. It was not surprising, therefore, that such of my people as were sectaries of the latter should have desired to visit Muttra, the place of

building of red stone upon the bank of the Jumna. Its extensive surface was covered with elaborate sculpture.

Muttra is one of the most ancient towns in India, and its existence, while so many great capitals have perished, shows that religious perseverance is capable of giving a longer duration to a city than the advantages of commerce or the protection of kings. The religion of the Hindoos abounds with revolting extravagances, but it seems just to admit that the preservation of Muttra through so many ages is a proof of the constancy of its followers.

I took my breakfast in the shade of a fine tree under which I had halted, amidst a crowd of spectators. Some of my company I did not at first perceive, they being concealed among the branches above me. As soon, however, as they saw the bread upon the table, one of them came to the extremity of a branch, and suspending himself with his head downwards, was very near taking off one of the last loaves of Padre Juvenal's supply. Others were ready to adopt the same manœuvre, and I was finally obliged to place a guard to prevent these familiar visitors from descending upon my table. They seemed harmless, and were probably more playful than voracious, especially as their condition showed they were far from starving. Most, indeed, were immoderately fat. Some, jumping down from the tree, crossed the road, and sprang upon a garden wall, but some young ones not being able to jump so high, their mothers reached down and drew them up.

The number of these monkeys was said to be about 300. They were large and thick, with *blue breeches*. They are fed by the Hindoos from the public revenue of the town and the

his nativity. It is fortunate when, as in the present case, the opinions of the Hindoos, leading to no cruel or immoral result, excite only our pity and regret, for their practices and ceremonies are often offensive to humanity and decency, not only awakening disgust and demanding reprehension, but even calling for the repressive interposition of the Government. But such interference should be directed with caution and mildness. The *suaviter in modo* is never more necessary than in attempts to correct the religious errors of a people, and there is no people to which this precept is more applicable than to the inhabitants of India.

donations of the pilgrims. I could make no inquiries on the spot relative to this singular establishment, but it was doubtless founded on the general veneration of the Hindoos for the monkey in consequence of the assistance which their potent deity, Ramchunder, received in times of old from an *army* of monkeys, he being enabled by these active allies to subdue the usurper of the island of Ceylon. In order to get to the island the monkeys made a bridge to it from the continent, and the remains of this construction are said to be visible still.

There is certainly much absurdity in this fable, but there is scarcely less in taking it in its literal sense. Ramchunder is well known to have been a king of Oude, whose virtues and victories rendered him popular amongst his subjects, while Humann, which also means a monkey, was the name of his general or ally. Similar absurdities abound in the books and traditions of the Hindoos, as well, probably, as in those of every very ancient people ; but a rational inquirer into the history of the Hindoos, or of Hindostan, will not despise, but, on the contrary, will diligently collect and patiently examine these stories, since they are frequently the vehicle of important historical facts of which no better record is to be found.

These early fables, however, of the Hindoos are sometimes treated with unreasonable severity by persons who are far from being shocked with the *classic* extravagances of the Greeks and Roman mythology. Such writers probably do not always know that Sir William Jones was of opinion that the Vishnoo of the Hindoos is no other than the Jupiter of the Greeks, and the Shiva of Muttra no other than the Roman Bacchus. In the same manner the Pacrita of the Hindoos is recognised as the Cybele of the Greek pantheon. *She* also is described as seated upon a lion, and as having the same character and attributes. She is in fact, as in the Grecian copy of the Indian prototype, the personification of fertility, or of nature, as the Indian name signifies.

I never had sufficient health nor leisure in my official

pursuits to give *much* attention to these interesting researches; but such instances of parallel identity are so numerous and striking as to lead Sir William Jones, Mr. Colebrooke, Captain Wilford, and others, to believe that the Grecian and Hindoo mythology are *mutato nomine* the same. Indeed, it is thought that *prior* to that remote period when the Sanscrit was the general language of India, a language existed there from which the Sanscrit itself, the Greek, and the language of the Goths were all derived.

My cook's wife having reached the end of her long pilgrimage now left me to propitiate Shiva, the tutelary deity of *her* sect. I saw her on her little bull during the last stage, but she probably separated herself from the line of march as we passed through the town, for I did not observe her near the tree when I halted. I left also at Muttra such of my Bengal boatmen as had come on with me from Agra. They had my permission either to remain at Muttra till my return, or avail themselves of any caravan that might be going to the Ganges.

The ancient road from Agra to Dehli was on the *western* side of the Jumna, and was through an avenue of trees the whole way, a distance of 140 miles. Of this magnificent work not a vestige remained on the part of the road which I had travelled hitherto. It was now a question whether I should *cross* the Jumna or continue my journey along the old road on the western bank. The latter was shorter, but it was considered less safe than the eastern line, on which travellers had the river between them and the country of the Mewatties. This advantage, however, did not appear very important, since the different tribes of banditti from the west chose the country between the Jumna and the Ganges as the field of their depredations. Still, following the usual practice of the caravans and the advice given me by the Bramins, I decided upon passing over to the eastern shore, which I accordingly did in a large flat-bottomed boat, which received us all, close to the great tree under which we had been stopping.

Upon leaving the banks of the Jumna, we entered upon an extensive sandy plain, partially covered with bushes. Some peacocks flew by. Carrying no provisions with us, I fired, and shot one. My gun contained two or three small balls intended for my own defence. I was surprised at my success, having never before fired at a bird. After passing a small lake, the first I had seen in India, we arrived early in the afternoon at Moth, a miserable, and apparently unsafe, village; but the Mussulmen of my party, finding they could procure kids and rice here for their supper, and that the country further did not promise these advantages, I yielded to their wishes and stopped. Had some peacock soup, which I found very good.

25*th.*—Marched at daybreak over one continued barren waste, occasionally interrupted by spots of underwood and long jungle. Saw many hares and partridges. Shot another peacock. A flock of wild pigeons flying by us, and settling upon the borders of an old well not far from the road, indicated to us the presence of water, which the heat and length of our march rendered most acceptable. There was some probability to-day of our seeing Mewatties, but we met no one, nor was any trace of population discernible as far as the eye could reach. But the well we had passed, and soon after a walled enclosure, containing nothing, but surrounded by lofty trees on whose branches I saw many peacocks, showed that this desert had once been inhabited, and was still habitable. It was two o'clock before we arrived at the village of Naw, my people very much fatigued. Halt in the serai for the night. Again peacock soup, with rice from the bazaar.

26*th.*—March at daybreak. Country again very barren, though less so than the day before. At twelve reach Tappel, and stop in the serai. After I had been here about a quarter of an hour I was much surprised at seeing an European walking across the square of the serai to the part of it which I had chosen. There was something in his manner that expressed uneasiness or dissatisfaction. Addressing me in French, he

said that his name was Georges, and that he was sent by the Governor of Tappel, Monsieur Bournier, who had been informed that a stranger, accompanied by sepoys, had arrived in the town.

I told the officer who I was, that I came from Bengal and was going to Dehli, and that my armed men were merely my escort. I added that if it would be agreeable to the Governor, I would pay my respects to him. Captain Georges, satisfied that I was not come to surprise his commander's capital, left me to make his report. He came back soon after with a manner very different from his first, and delivered a very polite message from the Governor, congratulating me on my safe arrival, offering me any assistance I might require, and inviting me to dine with him. I returned my thanks for these civilities, and accepted the invitation.

At the time named I waited upon the Governor in his little fortress, and passed a very pleasant evening with him and Mons. Georges, who both seemed to feel as much surprise and pleasure as myself at this meeting. These Frenchmen, who here seemed my countrymen, were adventurers in the service of Begum Sumroo, a celebrated princess, of whom I will hereafter give some account. Her territories are to the north of Dehli, but it appeared that the town of Tappel and a certain tract of the surrounding country also belonged to her, and were under the charge of Governor Bournier and his deputy, Captain Georges. Whether or not the Governor still fancied that my views might be of a military nature I could not tell, but he evidently wished to impress me with a favourable notion of his strength, of which he boasted in terms somewhat amusing. His artillery could strike a small object at a great distance, and his cavalry stop at full speed or recover their lances as they passed them at the same pace.

He seemed to consider me a traveller of some importance, and treated me as such. Excepting this error, he appeared a shrewd, intelligent man. He expressed much surprise at my

travelling through this deserted country, and obligingly said he should increase my escort. He told me some strange stories of Europeans who, in endeavouring to reach Dehli, had been seized and thrown alive into wells. He related these events with the desire to put me on my guard, manifesting much kind interest in my safety, and giving me many useful hints for avoiding the danger he had mentioned.

He informed me that he made saltpetre at the rate of 1½ to 2 rupees per maund, about 75 lbs., and asked what the price was in Calcutta. When I replied that it was 5 or 6 rupees per maund, he seemed to see an opening for an advantageous speculation ; but I regretted being obliged to add that the importation into Bengal was prohibited, the East India Company monopolising in the strictest manner the provision of that article. It was late before I quitted these hospitable officers and returned to the serai.

27*th.*—At daybreak this morning march with six pariahs of sepoys, very fine men, whom the Governor of the Begum's district was so good as to send me. My escort now was highly respectable. Country less waste. Pass a small village. All the early part of the morning on horseback as usual. Recross the Jumna, and halt at a village called Allur for the rest of the day. A Mussulman traveller, with a strong guard, arrived from Dehli. He belonged, I understood, to the Vizier's Court. We exchanged inquiries as to the safety of the road, the usual subject of communication between travellers meeting in these deserts, as the longtitude is at sea. I said that I had seen no Mewatties since those who had approached us before we reached Agra, and who were supposed to be a detachment from a body still between the Jumna and Ganges. In reply the Mussulman said he had seen nothing. Suffer some inconvenience from a pain in my chest. Our marches still fatiguing, but since the insubordination among my guard soon after leaving Agra, my people bear their privations without complaint, and often with cheerfulness and good humour.

28*th.*—March at daybreak. Quit the Begum's territory. Fatiguing march over a sandy plain. Observe some peasants ploughing near a small village, their arms deposited on the field, ready in case of attack. Everybody we had seen since leaving Agra was armed—generally with a scimitar and round black shield.

March in the afternoon. Desert plain, offering no variety, all solitude and dreariness. The sun hot and oppressive. Arrive late at a small village surrounded by a wall, as indeed is the smallest hamlet; such is the general insecurity. Halt in the serai for the rest of the night.

29*th.*—At daylight this morning I began the march which was to terminate my journey.

Not thinking it necessary to take the six pariahs of sepoys farther, before leaving the serai I desired the jemmadar or captain to draw up his men, when I thanked him for their services, and made them a present. I also gave their officer a note for the Governor of Tappel, informing him of the excellent conduct of his sepoys, and thanking him for the service they had rendered me, as well as for his other civilities. The captain marched his men out of the serai and turned to the left. I marched out after him and turned to the right.

By eleven o'clock the gradual appearance of ruins on each side the road announced our approach to the ancient metropolis of Hindostan.

As we advanced the ruins became more thickly scattered around us, and at length covered the country on every side as far as we could see. Houses, palaces, tombs, in different stages of dilapidation, composed this striking scene. The desert we had passed was cheerful compared with the view of desolation now before us. After traversing ruined streets without a single inhabitant for a mile, I saw a large mausoleum at a short distance on our right. I made my way over the ruins towards it with a few of my soldiers, leaving the rest of my people on the road. Dismounting and ascending some steps, I came upon a large

square terrace flanked with minarets, and having in the centre a beautiful mausoleum surmounted by an elegant dome of white marble. I had seen nothing so beautiful, excepting at Taje-Mehal. It was in vain to look about for some one to gratify my curiosity. The once most populous and splendid city of the East now afforded no human being to inform me what king or prince had received this costly sepulture; for the magnificence of the structure, the beauty of the marble, the exquisite workmanship of the mosaic and of the reliefs, announced the princely rank of the person to whom such honours had been shown. Its state of preservation was better than could have been expected, considering the value of the materials and the unrestrained spoliation to which they were exposed. The name of "Humaion" in Persian letters of black marble, which chance or respect had preserved untouched, made it probable that this was the tomb of that excellent monarch, one of the most virtuous, but most unfortunate princes of his race. He was the son of the celebrated Baber, the potent founder of the Mogol dynasty, and father of the great Acbar. The amiable qualities of Humaion were a weak defence against the daring intrepidity of Shere Shah, the warlike prince of Shahabad, to whose ambition and prowess he was finally compelled to resign the imperial crown; nor did he recover this till the death of Ibrahim, one of the successors of the Shah, after an expulsion, principally beyond the limits of the empire, of more than ten years.

The monument I beheld was doubtless an early act of the filial piety of the young Acbar, and was probably, therefore, erected or begun soon after the year 1556, when this prince, then only in his fifteenth year, came to the throne.

Quitting the tomb of Humaion, and returning to my people on the road, we immediately resumed our march, and after two more miles of ruined sepulchres and palaces discovered the lofty walls of Shah Jehanabad, or modern Dehli.

Few sensations are more indescribable than those which a traveller feels at the conclusion of such a journey as I had now

accomplished. The sight of the city which was to reward, or terminate at least, a long and fatiguing course was inexpressibly welcome to us all. On reaching the walls, which extended from the Jumna towards the west, we kept near them in the latter direction till we came to a high gateway defended by massive projections. As we were approaching the entrance, near which I saw several sepoys assembled, an officer came forward and said we could not pass without an order from the Governor, who lived a short distance in the country.

Though I did not expect this interruption, it did not surprise me, having observed that the appearance of armed men produced everywhere, in this country, suspicion and uneasiness, and measures of precaution.

Irksome as was this detention, in the heat of the sun, to my people, tired with a long march, it was necessary to submit to it; and indeed I was not sorry to be put in communication with the Governor of the city. It might, among other advantages, obviate the necessity of my going to the public serai; and having an important communication to make to the Emperor from the conqueror of Rohilcund,[1] it was desirable to make my entry into Dehli in a way calculated to obtain from the beginning the respect of the people, and the consideration of the court. I accordingly sent my head servant, whose diplomatic address I had so often proved, to the Governor, attended by the captain of my guard, and two chuprasses wearing official badges of the East India Company's service. I desired him to present my salaam to His Excellency, to inform him of my voyage up the Ganges with the British Commander-in-chief, of the object of my visit, and of my intention to take an early opportunity of paying my respects to him. In the meantime, I requested his orders for entering the city, and that he would appoint me a suitable residence for the time I might remain in it.

We remained a long time before the gate, without any shelter from the heat. At length my embassy returned,

[1] General Sir Robert Abercromby.

accompanied by an officer, who delivered to me the Governor's bhot bhot salaam, or particular respects, with an order for my immediate admission into the city, and occupation of a palace, to which he, the officer, was to conduct me.

We accordingly entered Dehli, passed through several streets, and came at last to the gates of the palace designed for me. From the magnificence of this abode I inferred that my head man had nothing extenuated of my consequence in his description of me to the Governor.

From the great court which fronted the palace, I turned into a fine garden, at the extremity of which, and adjoining the principal building, was a handsome pavilion, consisting of a splendid hall, with a deep verandah towards the garden, and numerous rooms of smaller dimensions.

Preferring this delightful appendage to the palace itself, I took possession of it for my own residence, my people suiting themselves as they pleased in the various apartments which surrounded the great court and garden.

And thus, by the further protection of Providence, in four months and ten days from the commencement of my voyage on the Ganges (just the length, nearly, of my passage from England to Bengal), I reached the Dur al Khalafut, or seat of empire.

PART III

DEHLI AND RETURN TO SANTIPORE

DEHLI, 29*th November* 1794.—I found myself very comfortably lodged in my princely quarters. A Mussulman noble, Sind Razy Khan, appeared to command in the palace, although he did not reside in it. By his orders a low Indian bed and everything I wanted for myself and people were procured. The bed I had placed in one of the rooms to the left of the great hall; my travelling table and chair in the middle of the great hall itself, upon a handsome carpet which covered the greater part of it. Here I sat, with my face towards the corridor, across which I looked down upon the garden and its "fruit burnished with golden rind." The situation was most pleasant, and, as said of *another* garden, seemed to make Hesperian fables true. My people appeared to feel a pleasure in strolling about the shady walks, after the fatigue of their journey, while such as were in attendance upon me sat in groups about the verandah, or on the steps leading from it.

30*th November*.—Soon after breakfast I saw a very respectable looking man, richly dressed, and followed by several attendants, coming up the centre walk, which was immediately opposite my table. My servants coming to inform me that the stranger was Sind Razy Khan himself, I rose and went to the top of the steps to receive him, and after the usual interchange of compliments, conducted him to a seat by the side of my own. He said he came not only to pay his respects, but to be assured that my

situation in the palace was to my mind, and to tender me his further services.

Sind Razy Khan was a man of superior intelligence, and possessed the polished and dignified manners of his high rank. He had formerly been employed in diplomatic stations of considerable delicacy and importance, and was now the representative of the British Embassy at the court of Mahdajee Scindia, at the Imperial court. I thought I could not have a fitter person to settle the arrangements of my introduction to the Emperor, as well as to be the medium of my communications with His Majesty. I accordingly opened to him my wishes upon these subjects, and desired him to take the proper steps for informing the Emperor of my arrival in Dehli, of my connection with the East India Company and with the British Commander-in-chief, and of the objects of my journey. I also requested the Khan to introduce to me a learned native of Dehli, for the purpose of accompanying me in my excursions about the city, and of giving dignity to my appearance before the great Mogol.

While talking over these matters, a messenger from Shah Sahib, the Governor of Dehli, was announced. Upon being shown in, he said he was sent by the Governor to know how I was, and to learn whether it was my intention to visit him that day. It appeared that the Governor was unwilling to leave home without knowing my intentions.

As a good understanding with this officer was of much importance, and I was desirous of showing my sense of his politeness, I expressed a wish to Sind Razy Khan, who had come to the palace on horseback, that he would mount and carry my answer to him. This he readily assented to do. I requested him to make my best salaam to the Shah; to inform him that I was particularly satisfied with my quarters; that I intended to devote the present day to rest (it was the first Sabbath after my long journey); but that I would pay him a visit the next day, before offering my respects to His Majesty. The Khan immediately set off for the palace of the Governor,

outside the city, accompanied by such of his attendants as were mounted, and by the Governor's messenger.

In the afternoon the Khan paid me another visit, and sat some time with me. Our conversation related principally to my proposed visit to the Emperor. In the evening I walked about the garden, which, though not so extensive as the one I had at Agra, was very delightful.

1*st December*.—Early this morning I take a ride through the streets, which I find long, without being spacious, and well peopled, though not crowded. The inhabitants had the same lofty military air already noticed. Their behaviour was perfectly civil, the curiosity I excited being attended rather by an endeavour to conceal it than by any marked notice or vulgar stare.

Soon after breakfast I receive a visit from Sind Razy Khan. He had had, the preceding evening, an interview with the proper officer of the court upon the subject of my arrival, and of my proposed visit to the Emperor, and expected to be able, in the course of the day, to inform me of His Majesty's wishes. The Khan now introduced to me the moonshy I had requested him to procure me. He was a Mussulman of fair, or rather reddish complexion, and apparently of about thirty years of age. I was pleased with his conversation and manners.

At ten o'clock I set out to pay my visit to the Governor of Dehli, at his country palace. I take with me my moonshy, and part of my guard, with their shields and tulwars, without their matchlocks. Leave the city by the Agra gate, the same by which we had entered it. Leaving the Agra road on our left, sloped into the country to the right of the gate, and after going about a mile over a plain strewed with ruins, arrived at a large walled enclosure, in the centre of which stood the Governor's palace.

Having passed through a few courts, about which I observed numerous guards, I dismounted from my horse at the gate of a spacious and very beautiful garden. Nearly in the centre of this, was the Bhurra-durry, a sort of open pavilion, with an arti-

ficial piece of water before it. Here, as I walked down the great walk, I perceived the Governor, sitting amidst numerous attendants. As I approached, he rose, and descended the steps to meet me. After the usual salutations he led me up to the pavilion, and seated me by his side. We conversed for some time in Hindostanee and Persian. The latter he spoke with an accent I had not before heard. He made many inquiries about Bengal, Calcutta, and the countries and cities I had seen in the course of my journey. Though he asked me many questions, he discovered no suspicious curiosity as to the object of my travels—a forbearance which rather surprised me, for I had understood that his vigilance was often attended with a degree of rigour that rendered him by no means popular in his station. I answered all his inquiries, dilating as much as I could on the subjects on which he seemed most desirous of obtaining information. He had no notion of the East India Company, and I felt that it would be difficult to convey an accurate one; the Court of Proprietors, Directors, etc., being always quite incomprehensible to the natives of India, accustomed to consider the *throne* alone as the seat of political power. He asked about the King of England, and if he went about with a great surwarree, or train. I said all I could for the honour of my sovereign, but the Governor, I found, could not easily conceive magnificence without *elephants*. I mentioned the vast number and extraordinary size of the elephants of the Nabob of Oude, and this accidental allusion was, I believe, a fortunate circumstance; for the Governor seemed surprised that I had been so much in His Highness's company, and that I had rode out upon one of his elephants every evening.

The Shah next invited me to see the interior of his palace, an unusual honour, as I afterwards understood. He accordingly descended from the pavilion and walked to it. It was a large quadrangular building, of modern construction, situated towards the bottom of the garden. The Shah took me up and down numerous staircases, mostly very narrow, along corridors, and

through several apartments, some spacious and handsome, but containing little furniture. Whether the Cashmirian beauties who formed, doubtless, the principal ornaments of the palace had an opportunity of gratifying *their* curiosity, I could not say; but I had none of satisfying *mine*, although I dared to glance a look down some of the passages leading apparently to the seraglio, as I passed them at the Governor's side.

Having returned to our servants, at the entrance of the palace, the Shah reconducted me to my silken seat in the Bhurra-durry.

The conversation, which was now resumed, turning upon the war in Rohilcund, I gave him a detailed account of the action in which Sir Robert Abercromby had defeated the Rohillahs at the opening of the campaign. The Governor, who had the reputation of being a good general, expressed much interest in these particulars, as well on account of their military character as their political importance.

The servants of the palace, in consequence of orders they had received, now brought me, on large waiters of silver, the Paandan,[1] Utrdan,[2] and Golabdan,[3] and chougurrahs, or trays, of Colfy.[4] Being a lover of fruit, this part of the ceremony was by no means displeasing to me. I tasted such of the productions of the Shah's garden as I had not seen before, or not seen in such excellence. Utr of roses and other perfumes were now poured upon the palms of my hands, which I rubbed together, and wiped upon my dress and handkerchief. Rose water was next sprinkled upon me from an elegant silver vessel having a long neck, perforated with holes at the end. The officer charged with this part of the honours stood at a little distance, and seemed not inattentive to the grace of his action, as he flourished the vessel about, and showered its fragrant stream upon me.

I sat a few minutes after being thus sprinkled and anointed,

[1] The Paan, composed of the leaf of the betel plant.
[2] Utr of roses. [3] Rose water. [4] Oranges, and other fruit.

and then rose to take my leave. The Shah accompanied me down the steps of the Bhurra-durry, and a little down the garden, when the usual compliments, with renewed offers of service on his part, and acknowledgments on mine, were exchanged.

Before, however, rejoining my horse, I strolled about the garden and saw some beautiful gulcurrys, or compartments of choice flowers. The Bhaghdar, or chief gardener, also showed me, under the shade of some fine trees, the tombs of the Shah's father and grandfather. They were more remarkable for their simplicity than for any elaborate ornament. Whatever inconvenience this mode of burial would present, as a more general practice it was pleasing to consider the filial respect which had led the Shah to select this spot for the interment of his ancestors. I now quitted the garden and mounted my horse, much pleased with the Governor, with his agreeable residence, and with the handsome reception he had given me.

I had intended to return immediately to my own quarters, expecting to receive there a communication from the Emperor; but I now decided upon taking, in my way, the famous Jumma Musjid, the Cathedral of Dehli. I accordingly proceeded circuitously through some of the outer streets to this building, and having reached it, alighted at the bottom of a high and spacious flight of steps of red stone. At the top of these was a magnificent portal of the same material, having in the centre a lofty pointed-arch, and on each side three pointed recesses, one above the other, intended, apparently, to break and lighten the wide surface of the front. This was further relieved by four columns, which extended from the base of the building, along its external angles, to some height above its summit, where they were crowned by domes of white marble, bearing small gilded shafts on their centre. A double range of small arches, one resting upon the other, surmounted the horizontal line of the front, bearing, like the columns, white marble domes, with small shafts projecting above them. On each side of this noble entrance was a line of light arches about 12 feet in height, connecting the

central building with two handsome pavilions, also bearing domes of marble. Thus, the entrance is, in its *general* form, a square building in the centre, with a range of arcades, considerably lower, on each side.

Ascending the steps, and passing through the lofty arch, I entered upon a vast area, paved with red stone and surrounded by a colonnade; the four angles of the square being flanked with pavilions of octagonal form. The great mosque was not, as I expected to find it, in front of this approach, but formed the left side of the great quadrangle, to which I observed two other entrances, of less importance. The first appearance of this beautiful building impressed me with an admiration which a survey of its parts was far from diminishing. Its width is about 250 feet. Its central entrance is spacious and lofty, and has, on each side, a row of fine pointed arches, resting upon pillars of white marble. At each extremity of this colonnade is a lofty minaret of red stone, streaked with strongly-marked lines of black marble, and encompassed by three circular galleries, the whole terminating with a light octagonal pavilion of white marble. Upon the roof of the mosque rested three marble domes, the central one being considerably larger than the other two. These domes are streaked with lines of black marble, from the apex to the base, and surmounted by gilded shafts. At a short distance in front of the centre I observed a houz, or tank, of white marble, and near it a furrush, or seat, for the Mussulmen to repose upon.

Before entering the precincts of the mosque I had put on a pair of Indian shoes, which, resembling loose slippers, were easily put off. Upon my expressing to the Khadim who was conducting me my desire to see the *interior* of the building, he looked at my shoes. Upon my saying that I was perfectly prepared to take them off, he immediately assented to my request. My curiosity was fully satisfied, the whole of the interior being of beautiful white marble, divided into elegant compartments by borders in relief, or by lines of black marble,

inlaid in the white. In some of these divisions were delineated, in Persian letters of black marble, of the bold and elegant Shekust, or *running hand,* select passages of the Koran. On the right of the centre was placed, against the wall, about six feet from the ground, a small tablet of marble, inlaid, in a similar manner, with the leading precepts of the Mahomedan faith. This, the Khadim informed me, was the most sanctified object the mosque contained, and was accordingly approached with great reverence by the Mussulmen.

I now ascended one of the minarets, counting 128 steps to the top. My position here was magnificent, commanding an extensive view over the great cities, ancient and modern Dehli, which formed a singular picture as thus seen in the same panorama.

The Jumma Musjid, upon the highest pinnacle of which I was now standing, is justly considered by the followers of Mahomet the finest mosque they possess in all India ; and it is probably second only, if second, to S. Sophia of Istamboul. It was erected about the year 1640 by the founder of the city, the Emperor Shah Jehan, under the superintendence of Said Ulla Khan, Vizier of the empire. Its singular beauty and grandeur greatly surprised me, much as I heard of its fame ; and after the fatigue and privations which my faithful Bengal servants had gone through in accompanying me so far, it was a further gratification to me to see the delight with which they all, Hindoos as well as Mussulmen, viewed this magnificent structure.

Having descended the minaret, I again spent a short time in examining the exquisite mosaic of the interior ; and then resuming my shoes, for which I had substituted a pair of shawl socks, recrossed the great area, from the centre of which the entire building is seen to greatest advantage. At the great portal I made a present to the civil and tolerant Khadim, who had shown me so much ; and at the bottom of the steps I and the moonshy mounted our horses, and proceeding slowly, for

the sake of our attendants on foot, returned to my palace. Here I found Sind Razy Khan waiting for me with the important intelligence that the Emperor had received my communication very favourably, and had even fixed upon the following day for my reception.

The rest of this afternoon was principally spent in preparing for my visit the next morning; in learning from Sind Razy Khan the customary forms; the amount of the *Nuzzur*, gift, to be presented, the way of offering it, the language to be used, and other matters prescribed by etiquette. Being told that it would be necessary to take off my shoes before His Majesty, I said that I had not the least objection to that or any other established usage.

2nd December.—After breakfast, I and my people were busily occupied in preparing ourselves for going to the Imperial residence. The time fixed for my presentation was twelve o'clock. At ten the Khan arrived with numerous attendants. He was very handsomely dressed. Our arrangements being made, I mustered, in the court of the palace, such of my guards and establishment as I had ordered to be in readiness to accompany me. They had done their best to remove the dust of the plains from their clothes and accoutrements, and made a very respectable appearance. I was dressed in white, and was enveloped in a very long orange-coloured shawl. I had that morning bought a magnificent pair of shoes or sandals curiously worked with gold. The end or toe advanced very considerably, and having gradually diminished almost to a point, curled back over the foot, with a high sweep, like a Dutch skate. Notwithstanding their size and costliness, they were scarcely heavier than a pair of common shoes. They were, however, only fit to be walked with on a mat or carpet.

Soon after eleven the procession moved out of the great square of the palace, the Agra guard, with their captain at their head, taking the lead, the other men following, two and two, at short distances, so as to form a long line. About the middle of this

I took my station, on my little charger; Sind Razy Khan, on a prancing steed, being on my right, and my moonshy, also mounted, on my left. Behind me followed my palanquin. The people salaamed as I moved gently through the streets.

Leaving the city by the Lahore gate, we passed over a small plain, and at the farther side of it reached the high walls which enclosed the precincts of the Imperial residence. The gates being opened, some officers stationed there conducted us through the usual great Court of the Elephants, and a succession of other courts, in the last of which I was met by other officers, whose more splendid dresses denoted their high rank.

Having dismounted, and received and returned the customary salutations, I was conducted, accompanied by Sind Razy Khan and the moonshy, to the Dewan Aam, or hall of audience, a fine building, which formed, with its numerous accessory apartments, one entire side of a spacious square. It was so extensive as to seem itself a palace. In this great and beautiful hall I saw the Shah-Nusheen, or imperial seat, and beneath it a beautiful furrush of white marble, for the Vizier of the empire to stand upon, in the presence of the Emperor. Formerly, when the Padshah appeared in this hall on great occasions, he sat upon the Tuckkt Thaosy, the celebrated Peacock-Throne, subsequently removed by Nadir Shah in the reign of Mahmoud Shah; and then the Vizier stood below upon the marble elevation above mentioned.

I was next conducted into the Dewan Khas, another ancient hall of public ceremonial, and still more beautiful and magnificent than the preceding one, but bearing for that reason undoubtedly more marks of modern spoliation. This splendid room is composed entirely of white marble, as is the adjoining terrace and its two pavilions. The columns of white marble which support the roof of this beautiful divan are inlaid with the choicest cornelians, displaying a degree of taste and art which reminded me of the similar embellishments of the Taje; and they were, it seemed likely, the work of the same hand, since both buildings

were erected at nearly the same time and by the same monarch. The highly-sculptured roof, which rested lightly on these elegant columns, was also of white marble, embossed with gulcurrys of the same exquisite workmanship, intermixed with decorations in gold. A velvet cushion was on the chabooturah, and under a handsome canopy, supported by massive pillars of silver, was the throne of the Padshah, covered with crimson velvet.

Whilst I was admiring these beautiful specimens of oriental magnificence, some officers of the palace, sumptuously dressed in shawls, advanced and saluted me, and said that the Padshah had taken his seat in the Turbeigh Khana, and was ready to receive me.

I accordingly moved forwards, followed by Sind Razy Khan and the moonshy, and the numerous persons who had joined us, and soon came upon the extremity of a long and spacious terrace, having a handsome colonnade on one side (my right), and on the other a garden. Towards the centre of the terrace I observed a great number of people assembled; and advancing towards them I perceived two lines of persons, apparently of rank, sitting on a large carpet spread upon the terrace, opposite an opening in the centre of the colonnade. Having moved a little farther I perceived that this opening was a spacious recess connected with the palace, and that many persons in splendid dresses were standing in it with their faces towards the terrace and garden.

A few steps farther brought me to the edge of the carpet, and near the extremity of the first line of persons sitting. Here, looking over the line towards the persons standing in the colonnade, I had a glimpse of the Padshah—at least of the upper part of his person. His Majesty seemed to be sitting before the persons standing. As this was a stolen glance, I did not bow, nor take any particular notice of him. At the edge of the carpet I took off my sandals, and leaving Sind Razy Khan and the moonshy, advanced alone a little beyond the first line of persons sitting, and turning to my right, when half way between the two lines I saw the Emperor immediately before me at the

farther extremity of the lines. He was sitting, with his face towards the terrace, upon a low tukkt or throne, covered with crimson velvet or silk, and was surrounded by numerous persons standing, some behind him in the divan, others along the corridor on each side.

In conformity with the lesson I had received, I now made three low salaams, bending slowly forwards and almost touching the carpet each time with my right hand, and then raising it to my forehead. I here cast a deliberate look around me, when I perceived that curiosity was not on my side alone, for all eyes were fixed upon me. I observed also that the extremities of the lines near me were composed of very young men, and that the rows *mounted* gradually towards the other end near the throne, being there formed of persons considerably older. All were princes of the imperial family, sons and grandsons of Shah Allum, the reigning emperor. Their numbers, I understood, exceeded forty. I now advanced very slowly forward five or six paces between the lines, and then stopped and made three more profound salaams, after which I retreated backwards to where I had stood at first. Here I made three low bows as before, and then advanced slowly, followed by Sind Razy Khan and the moonshy, till I came close to the aged monarch, who sat erect in the oriental fashion. Large cushions of silk lay on each side of him and behind him, but he did not seem to rest upon them.

Though seventy-one years of age, he looked the tallest and stoutest of all present. Though prepared to see him blind, as he was, the appearance of the Great Mogol upon his throne in such a situation was an extraordinary and most distressing spectacle, especially as his affliction did not proceed from accident, nor arise in the course of nature, but resulted from an act of most inhuman barbarity committed by one of his subjects. There was, however, nothing repulsive in the Emperor's appearance, nothing being perceptible but a depression of the eyelids. Upon his right hand sat Mirza Acbar, his eldest son, and heir to the

throne, the junior princes being ranged in the two lines in front, according to their ages. Among the great personages standing about the throne I perceived my acquaintance, Shah Sahib, the Governor of Dehli.

My moonshy now gave me a piece of fine muslin, folded into the size of five or six inches square. Putting this on my right hand, he placed upon it five gold mohurs, equal altogether to about £8, and I then held it towards the Emperor, who being informed of what I had done, stretched out his right hand, and laid it upon my offering, after which the treasurer of the palace, who was among the officers near the throne, advanced and took the gold from the cloth. The moonshy, who was my treasurer on the occasion, now put *three* gold mohurs on the muslin, and I presented them to the Shahzada, Mirza Acbar, who himself took them. In the same manner I offered smaller presents to as many others of the Padshaizadas as the resources of my exchequer would permit, for all the Padre Juvenal's gold, and silver too, would have been exhausted if I had presented offerings to all this numerous family.

This immemorial custom of the East being complied with, the Emperor, speaking in Persian, inquired after my health, and in very obliging terms expressed his pleasure at my safe arrival at Dehli after so long a journey.

I returned my acknowledgments for this condescension, adding that the fame of His Majesty and of his imperial house had reached the distant parts from which I came. The celebrity of his virtues had inclined me to approach the seat of empire, where my reception into the august presence would ever be a source of satisfaction to me in my own country. I had, I said, been the companion during a great part of my journey of a powerful General, who took a deep interest in His Majesty's glory, and whose delight would have been to reach the foot of the imperial musnud, but that he would always hear with pleasure of the power and splendour of His Majesty's throne, and had now been fighting for His Majesty's prosperity, as would

probably, I added, appear by a letter with which I had the honour of being charged for the Presence.

The Emperor, holding forth his hand, received the letter, and gave it to Meer Ghalib Khan, his head moonshy, to read. It was written in the Persian language upon highly-varnished paper, spotted with gold. After detailing the principal events of the late war, it offered the General's congratulations to His Majesty on the defeat of Gholam Mahomed, the usurper of Rohilcund, and the conquest of Rampore, his capital. The Emperor expressed his satisfaction at these events, and acknowledged the General's attention in communicating them. He then inquired after the General's health, and desired that I would express his thanks to him. I returned my acknowledgments, and said I should soon probably have an opportunity of communicating His Majesty's condescension to the General, to whom it would be more pleasing than victory.

The Emperor now ordered his officers to invest me with the Imperial Khelaut, upon which I shortly expressed my thanks and withdrew, retreating backwards between the two lines. As I had had but little time for practising this difficult manœuvre, and the distance was considerable, there seemed to be danger of my trampling upon some of the imperial progeny. I, however, got safely to the end, though not, I believe, in a very straight line. Having at this point repeated the three salaams, I walked to the spot where I had left my sandals, and putting them on, was conducted back along the terrace to an apartment not far from the extremity by which I had entered.

Here I was invested with a long splendid robe of muslin, richly bespangled and embroidered with gold. It covered me entirely, and reached down to my golden sandals. A turban of fine gold muslin, many yards in length, was wound round my head. A handsome scarf of white muslin, worked with gold, and ending with deep fringes of gold, was placed over my shoulders, and reached almost to the ground. Another long piece of muslin, also embroidered with gold, was wound round my waist,

forming a broad thick girdle over the robe and under the scarf. My moonshy, much to his satisfaction as well as mine, received a handsome green shawl.

I was now reconducted to the Presence, where I found every thing in the same order as before, the great Moghol sitting amongst his family and chief officers. Again taking off my sandals at the edge of the carpet, I repeated my three obeisances, and then advanced slowly up the avenue of princes to the throne.

The Emperor, informed of my approach, addressed me thus: "Your visit has afforded me much satisfaction. The communication of the victory gained by the General is an attention that pleases me. Make this city your residence for a few days, such being your desire, or longer if you please. You will view dances and entertainments, which will be exhibited before you in Shah Sahib's palace and garden. You will now walk about the fortress and see everything. Your feast will be supplied from the Presence."

I replied, "May your Majesty be blessed with years, prosperity, and health," and then withdrew backwards as before, bowed three times at the extremity of the two lines, and retired.

I was now conducted through various parts of the fort. First to the Mooty Musjid, the mosque of the palace, near the Dewan Khas, which I had already seen. It is built of marble, and is very handsome. I next saw some beautiful marble baths built by the Emperor Shah Jehan. There was a succession of marble rooms susceptible of different degrees of heat from stoves, of which there was no exterior appearance. The bather proceeds at intervals of a few seconds from one room to another—perspiration being thus gradually produced; and after bathing he retires with the same precautions.

I was led next to the Hyet Bukkt garden, where, I was told, the princes whom I had just seen frequently walked. Though large and possessing a beautiful collection of shrubs and flowers, I thought it inferior to the Shah's garden, which I had seen the

day before. Passing home by the Bonead Mobharuck, I entered the Shah Bagh, where I was shown a very long building flanked by two high towers, in the northern of which is a large octagonal room commanding a fine view of the Jumna and the country on the opposite shore.

It was from one of the windows of this apartment of the Shahberg, as the building is called, that Mirza Jewan Bukkt, the present Emperor's eldest son, escaped some years before, and, crossing the river, fled to Rohilcund. I will hereafter give the particulars of this event.

From the same window I saw the spot from which Gholam Khadir, then encamped beyond the river, attacked Dehli in the year 1788. The city and fort having been treacherously delivered to this chief by Munsoor Ally Khan, superintendent of the imperial household, he took possession personally of the palace. The Padshah, the same whom I had just seen, finding that he was betrayed, entered into a treaty with Gholam Khadir; but the latter commanding the city, the fort, and the Emperor's person, wholly disregarded this engagement, introduced the remainder of his army, and by his violence compelled the Emperor to retire to the harem or private part of his palace.

The following day,—hoping, perhaps, by an appearance of resolution and authority to command the support of his subjects, or at least the respect and forbearance of his enemies,—he took his seat on the musnud. But the moment, whether for resistance or concession, was past. Firmness could now only provoke outrage, and humility contempt. Perhaps no monarch ever suffered more humiliation than the successor of Timur, Acbar, and Aurungzebe now experienced. The Emperor was reproached and insulted on his throne, and finally deposed. He was about to retreat again to that part of the palace which the custom of the country held inviolate, but was detained by the followers of Gholam Khadir, who insisted upon the surrender of the concealed treasure. The protestation of the Padshah that there was no treasure, disappointing the cupidity of the fierce Rohillah,

increased probably his violence. His soldiers by his orders threw the aged Emperor to the ground, when he himself, if such an account is to be believed, forced out his eyes with a poniard. Such is the tragic explanation of the state of blindness in which I now found the Emperor Shah Allum.

Scindia, as soon as he heard of this atrocious event, marched to Dehli, and driving away the usurper, restored the Emperor to his authority. Having afterwards made Gholam Khadir prisoner, he caused him to be confined in an iron cage and exposed to the view of the army. It must be regretted that the honourable resentment of the Prince of Malwa did not end here. The account I received at Dehli was that the hands of the wretched man were cut off, and that he was further dreadfully mutilated, and in this state was sent off to the capital, but died on the way. I was told that the Nazir, whose treachery had been the chief cause of the Emperor's misfortunes, was trodden to death by an elephant, a mode of punishment not uncommon in political cases among the princes of India.

Continuing my visit about the fort, I was shown the arsenal and magazines, and found them nearly in the despoiled state in which Gholam Khadir had left them. I saw some other things, but their importance was not sufficient to afford me much interest, occupied as my mind was with my introduction to the Padshah. I now therefore expressed my satisfaction and thanks to the officers of the palace, who had executed, with the most circumstantial attention, the orders they had received, and was reconducted to the court where my horse and guards had remained; but the officers still continuing with me, I remained on foot till we reached the Dehli gate, near which they directed my attention to a cannon of extraordinary size. Here, exchanging salutations with these most pleasing men, I mounted my horse, and adopting the same order of procession as before, returned gently through the city with all my imperial honours thick upon me.

In the evening Aboo Mahomed, the dangah, or chief of the

Emperor's kitchen, arrived at the palace with the aloosh khas, or royal feast. There were about twenty men, and most of them brought two dishes, suspended to a bamboo placed across the shoulder. These were spread on the large carpet which covered the floor, the dimensions of my small travelling table being wholly disproportioned to so voluminous a repast. I placed myself on the carpet also, the dangah standing by me to explain the dishes, and recommend such as were of peculiar excellence. To honour the feast, and gratify the eyes at least of my attendants, I allowed them all to enter the great hall, where they stood behind me. But I believe they were more gratified with what followed—a numerous set of handsome and richly-dressed nautch or dancing girls, who came in pursuance of orders from the palace. They were accompanied by a respectable band of musicians, with instruments not much unlike fiddles and guitars, and possibly the prototypes of these. They danced in a row before me, one or two sallying forth from the line at a time, and after a few shuffling steps and postures, to the sound of the music and of little bells worn round their ankles, glided back to their places. When they had exhibited nearly two hours, conceiving they must be tired, and beginning to feel so myself, I allowed them to retire, and finally closed the ceremonies of this important day by making the customary presents to the officers and servants of the imperial establishment, and to others who had contributed to my amusement.

3rd December.—This morning, after an early breakfast, I mounted my horse, and taking my moonshy with me, went to see the Kotsea Bugh, once celebrated among the famed gardens of Dehli, but now in a ruinous and neglected state; and when in such a state few objects are less pleasing than a garden. I next rode to the Laut Minar, erected by Firoz Shah. I was told that the evident diminution of the original height was occasioned by the explosion of a powder magazine, which threw down a considerable part of the top. The broken column now stood alone in the midst of ruins which covered the face

of the country as far as I could see, the whole forming a most impressive scene. I was much cautioned not to wander about this plain, there being danger of being fired upon from behind the ruined buildings. I accordingly avoided, as well as I could, such old walls and broken masses as seemed favourable to such an attack. I had, as when travelling, my pistols in my holsters, and my sabre at my side, slung to a belt which passed over my right shoulder, and my moonshy on these occasions wore a handsome scimitar.

Returning to the city, I visited the palaces of Burran Hummul Mulk and Moojhad Dowlah Adoolahad Khan, and walked about the fine gardens belonging to them. Imaum Buksh, who was Khidmutgur to Moojhad Dowlah, having inherited his property, had expended considerable part of it in restoring and embellishing the palace and gardens of his benefactor. I now proceeded towards my palace, passing through several streets, of which one alone was remarkable. It was very wide, and formerly a canal, formed of red stone, received the waters of the Jumna, several miles above Dehli, and conveyed them through the city to the palace. *Now* there was no water in the canal, and small houses of mean appearance having been built on each side of it, neither the original width nor beauty of the street had been preserved. I saw another street nearly similar, in which was a branch of the same canal.

I afterwards passed through a bazaar, in which were numbers of people, the greater part well wrapped up in white dresses descending a little below the knee, and confined round the waist by a roll of cotton cloth. Many had these dresses quilted for the winter, which now began to be felt in the keenness of the air in the morning and evening. Though white was the prevalent colour for the robes and turbans of the people, some wore printed calicoes of various patterns and colours. The sirdars and men of rank, and many even of the sircars, mahajans, and shraffs (merchants, shopkeepers, and

money-changers) wore shawls of different colours and forms, but mostly long, which, descending from the shoulder, or from the head in cooler weather, crossed round the middle of the body, and met in a loose knot behind. It was in this way that I generally wore my own shawl.

A great many of the people carried arms of some sort, generally a scimitar, or convex blade, enclosed in a black scabbard, and a round black shield, with four or five small bosses in the centre. The same lofty military air, observable in the population of Behar, Oude, the Doab, and Agra, was no less striking here. All the inhabitants I met in this crowded bazaar were perfectly well-behaved and civil, not discovering more than that certain degree of curiosity which is not, perhaps, unpleasing to a stranger, and salaaming and making way for me as I passed. Observing a shop where hookah bottoms were sold I rode up to it, and the owner brought me several of his goods to look at. Having selected a few specimens of this neat manufacture, for which Dehli is famous, I desired the merchant to bring them to my palace, to which I now returned.

Sind Razy Khan called soon after, and brought me a very satisfactory communication from the durbar. The Emperor had expressed himself much pleased with my visit, and with the account of Sir Robert Abercromby's victory. I furnished the Khan with the details of that event and of the Rohillah campaign for His Majesty's information, and desired him to assure His Majesty of the deep interest which the Commander-in-chief and the Bengal Government took in his prosperity.

In the afternoon I again mounted my horse, and accompanied by my moonshy on his, rode to examine the ruins of the old city, to the north-west of the road to Agra. Here the eye perceived nothing but one wide scene of desolation. I saw the spot where the Emperor Alumghir, father of the reigning monarch, was slain by Gazyuddeen, son of the old Nizam. I walked about an extensive mausoleum, apparently

of some Padshah, but could get no certain information about it. The decline of the empire was visible in the tombs as well as in the palaces of the emperors. Other mausolea which I found among the ruins were in different stages of dilapidation. Sometimes an imperfect inscription announced the name and quality of the deceased, but oftener no indication of either remained. The last I saw was that of Mirza Tir Koonder Buckkt.

I had remained so long amongst these sepulchres that night had stolen, almost imperceptibly, upon us. The obscurity that followed completed the gloom of this melancholy spot. It becoming doubtful whether we should be able to find our way back to Dehli, I decided upon taking an opposite direction, in which the ancient city was less extended, thus gaining the open country, where our progress would be less difficult Accordingly, leaving Dehli behind us, we made the best of our way over the ruins towards the south, and having arrived at the plain turned to the left to try to gain the Agra road. By the time, however, we had found this it was too late to think of reaching Dehli that night. I therefore turned to the right, instead of the left, in order to search for a small village called Arab-serai. Sind Razy Khan, the governor of the palace I occupied, had spoken to me of a friend of his, named Ghosy Sahib, who lived in this village, and had proposed my paying him a visit on my way back to Agra. I thought I could not do better than make this visit now.

After galloping some way I came to the village, and having inquired for Ghosy Sahib, was conducted to his house. I rode into the court, at the farther side of which was a small but respectable dwelling. Some servants who came to the top of some steps which led to the first floor, seemed rather surprised at this unexpected arrival; but, coming down when I called them, I desired them to present my salaam to their master, and to inform him that a stranger, a friend of Sind Razy Khan of Dehli, was come, and desired hospitality for the night.

Ghosy Sahib soon made his appearance ; and, hurrying down the steps, salaamed and salaamed to me in the most cordial manner ; and, without any hesitation or reserve, said that I was master of his house and of everything he had, and begged me to dismount and walk in. As soon as I was seated, one of the servants brought me a chillumchee—a large flat circular brass vessel, having a concave lid perforated with holes and slits of different forms. Whilst the man held this bright machine before me, another servant poured cold water upon it ; I holding my hands in the refreshing stream and bathing my face and neck. An ample supper of curry and rice and fruit was soon prepared, and I passed a very pleasant evening with my respectable and well-informed host. He cautioned me, as others had done, not to venture incautiously amongst the ruins of the ancient city. He said that my arms would be of little use, since the robbers fired upon travellers from behind the walls or windows of the old palaces, and did not appear till they had killed or disabled the persons they attacked.

My bed place, in a small chamber by the side of the hall in which I had supped, was, by Ghosy's orders, brought into the hall itself — this being more spacious and airy. It was the usual Indian frame, with a strong cloth in the middle to hold the bedding. The latter consisted merely of a thin mat as smooth as silk, a pillow, and a quilted coverlid rolled up at the other end, the nights now being cool. Besides this the careful Ghosy had, being indeed as much a matter of course in India as a night cap in England, laid out a pair of thin loose trousers of ample dimensions ; for the Sahib was a square, fat, jolly man, who apparently took good care of himself as well as of his guests. The simple but neat and convenient couch thus prepared for me was so light that a man could easily carry the whole with one hand, or, as the Scripture says, in allusion probably to a similar construction, could " take up his bed and walk."

Before I lay down the luxurious chillumchee and pitcher were brought again, and the former operation renewed upon my

feet, one man gently pouring the cool water upon them while another washed them.

4th December. — The next morning early, after many a sincere acknowledgment to the amiable Ghosy Sahib, and a few customary presents to his servants, I mounted my horse and galloped off in a northerly direction, the moonshy following me. Soon after sunrise I reached the magnificent periphery of twenty miles, said to have encompassed the ancient city in the days of its prosperity.

Here I rode in search of a few monuments which Ghosy Sahib had recommended to my attention.

The first was the tomb of Meer Khosroo Dehooley, the beautiful symmetry of which was delineated in the choicest white marble, and was still admirable amidst the partial degradation which impaired it. I next saw the durgah of Nizamaddeen, and the mausoleum of Mahomed Shah Padshah, whose virtues seem to have been his fault, or at least his misfortune, as being unsuited to the peril of the times in which he lived, and as presenting too feeble a barrier to the unscrupulous atrocities of an enemy whose force was rather in his activity and vigour than in his superior strength. Thus did the decline of the empire, as I have already observed, proceed with accelerated progression during the reign of this prince. The character of Mahomed, as more formed for private life than for public affairs, seemed visible even here ; for on one side of the imperial tomb was the mausoleum of the Padshah's mother, and on the other that of his daughter, Meizrut Begum, who was taken off by Shah Duranny.[1]

Not far from these monuments, I saw with deeper interest that of the Princess Jehannara, the Euphrasia of Hindostan. She was the eldest daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and the voluntary companion and chief solace of his long confine-

[1] My notes merely mention this fact without stating the particulars of the story, which were probably related to me by my companion, the moonshy, but have escaped my recollection.

ment in the fortress of Agra. The following Persian inscription, beautifully traced in letters of black marble, was inlaid in the white marble of which the tomb was composed :—

The world is the house of frailty, wherein, whoever comes, obtains nothing but the fragrance of the rose.

Turning from the sepulchre of this virtuous princess, I passed by the ruins of many nameless palaces and tombs till I came to the beautiful marble mausoleum of Nizam Addeen Oleanny. From this point I struck off towards the west, and after riding some miles through ruins, the only visible record of two great cities which once occupied this space—Indiaput, of the days of Alexander, and ancient Dehli — I arrived at the foot of the Kuttul Minar, whose shattered summit had appeared above the rest of the ruins at a great distance and directed our course.

The height of this minaret was said to be about 250 feet. I should have guessed it to be more. It was the highest I had seen, or, I believe, that existed in India. By an ample staircase in the interior, I ascended to within a few feet of the top. The remaining steps above me were so broken away that it was impossible to get farther: the attempt would be likely to bring down the cupola, which rested upon two opposite pillars alone, not apparently in a very sound state. Indeed the moonshy had cautioned me to proceed slowly and remain still, if I ascended so high as I did, lest the nicely-balanced cupola, or some part of it, should fall. It was evident that the last stairs had been carried away by the fragments that *had* fallen.

This minaret is generally supposed to have been erected by the Emperor Kuttubuddeen, whose reign commenced with the beginning of the thirteenth century and introduced the Afghan or Patan line of emperors, who previously occupied the country of Cabul between the Indus and the confines of Persia—the direction from which the stream of conquest in India seems

always to have flowed. But the *object* of this extraordinary structure is involved in that uncertainty which in India, as in other countries, is so fertile in fable and absurdity. The *popular* story at Dehli was that the favourite of the Emperor's seraglio, a Hindoo whose devotion was equal to her beauty, declaring that she could not live if she did not see the waters of the Jumna every day, the Emperor had constructed this tower to enable the Sultana to fulfil her vow. Whether, in support of this tradition, the Jumna, seven miles off, was visible from the top, I could not determine; but from an opening a few steps below the part which I had attained, I could perceive nothing of the river, though the white domes and glittering spires of the Jumma Musjid were distinctly discernible.

My moonshy, who was an intelligent observer, was of opinion that this minaret, though now insulated, originally formed part of a large mosque, the ruins of which, as well as of another minaret, he pointed out to me. The very numerous inscriptions, containing, it was said, nearly the whole of the Koran, which encircled the building seemed also to imply a destination more devout than that which common report ascribed to it. Nor does it seem probable that a mere ladder for seeing the Jumna would have been embellished with a degree of architectural richness and taste that rendered the Kuttul Minar one of the finest objects in the vicinity of Dehli. It is fluted and encircled with four galleries.

Having rejoined the moonshy, who had remained at the bottom of the column to avoid the danger of two persons ascending together, I spent a few minutes in examining the inscriptions and ornamental sculpture of the exterior, and then went to the Flauney Musjid, a contiguous mosque, built of the same sort of red stone as the great minaret, and also bearing on its surface numerous inscriptions from the Koran. Both these buildings, as well as several others of which I observed the ruins, seemed to have been once surrounded by a fortified wall, for it was easy to trace the remains of this, as well as of some

massive bastions, whose form and condition denoted a great antiquity.

Returning towards Dehli, from which I was now distant about six miles, I visited the tombs of Imaum Zada Mushuddy and Shah Shumsuddeen, nephew of Sultan Gowri. I saw also a large iron obelisk, whose weight was said to have sunk half its original height into the ground. The walls of Dehli not being far from this spot, a few houses were established here. One of the inhabitants of these to whom I addressed some inquiries said that many ages ago, the early conquerors having thrown down the Hindoo temples erected by Pethoora, had erected mosques and this iron pillar upon their ruins. Who Pethoora was I could not learn, but Sultan Gowri, whose family my informant seemed to charge with these acts of intolerance, reigned at Dehli in the middle of the twelfth century, which would give the pillar in question an antiquity greater than that of the Kuttul Minar. I desired the moonshy, who carried an inkstand as well as a scimitar in his girdle, to write down this information, for though the account of a village historian is no decisive authority on such subjects, it sometimes affords a clue to testimony more satisfactory.

Before I left this singular little hamlet all the population seemed to be gathered round me, and the servants of Koutoubdeen, the principal inhabitant, brought me, by their master's orders, a handsome offering of flowers, oranges, nuts, and other fruits of his garden spread upon shining brass trays. I was never more struck with this characteristic custom of the East than in this unexpected instance. Before me I saw the site only of the temples of Pethoora, the sunken and decayed pillar of Gowri, the wreck of a great empire, and the destruction of its chief city, while this simple usage was as fresh and habitual as in the earliest days of scriptural antiquity.

It was far from being an unwelcome ceremony on the present occasion, and as the greatest compliment that can be paid to the donor in such cases is to accept his gift, neither I nor the

moonshy had any difficulty in affording this satisfaction, for we had been riding about all the morning without taking anything.

Moving towards the city, I visited the tomb of Nuwab Nudjiff Zoolfaka ul Dowlah and that of his slave, Afraseab Khan, whom Muddshoo Brig, the churratah of Mirza Sein Ulubudeen, had, in the words of the moonshy, "pierced through the throat with a dagger." The body of the Khan was brought from Deig, where this happened, and interred by the side of the Nabob, his master.

I next went to the durgah of Shah Murdak, and ascended its hauz or terrace. The furrush, pavement, and gateway are entirely of white marble. There were many other fine monuments in this part, particularly those of Nabob Zoolfakah Jung; of his son, Nuwab Sei fut Dowlah; of Belool Mahomed Khan; of Moosy Khan, who died in the year 1182 Hejirah; and lastly, that of the celebrated Cossim Ally Khan, Subah of Bengal, whom a singular fate had brought to this spot, and whom I had followed in a way also somewhat singular, from his palace at Moorshedabad to his retreat at Rajmehal, to his defeat at Buxar, and finally to his tomb near Dehli.

The next mausoleum which I visited was one of a living person, Mohurranee Begum, wife of the reigning padshah. She herself had lately caused this monument to be constructed near the tomb of Muttrah Begum, one of the present emperor's daughters. I afterwards walked over the mausoleum of Nuwab Sufder Jung and of Luttuf Ally Khan, names of great distinction in the modern wars of the empire. At the latter of these I was received with much attention by the descendants of the late prince. A seat was prepared for me, and on it I was complimented with the customary salutations, and again received presents of fruit and flowers.

The principal object which I saw after re-entering the walls of the city was the small mosque of Roshun ul Dowlah, from the top of which Nadir Shah issued the order for the general massacre of the inhabitants of Dehli. It is situated near the

Chabooturah Kutwaly, at the entrance of the Chandny Choke, or great market-place, a spot always crowded with people, and where the indiscriminate destruction was represented to have been most dreadful. I dismounted, and taking with me the moonshy and some respectable persons in the street who had collected about us, ascended to the terrace, to which this event had given a sort of historical celebrity.

In many countries where the duration of human life is greater than it is in India, some of the persons who surrounded me might have been able to relate from their own recollection the particulars of the massacre; but still many probably repeated the details which they had heard from their fathers or others who had escaped the general slaughter. It appeared established that 100,000 unoffending inhabitants, engaged in their usual occupations, were put to death before the obduracy of Nadir Shah yielded to the supplications of the Emperor, who stood by his side just, as I was told, where I was now standing.

But the same degree of certainty or unanimity was far from existing as to the cause of this extraordinary event. For though the occurrence was as public as it was criminal, the passions excited among the people had apparently effaced or disfigured the true history of this great iniquity. Most of the persons near me declared that Nadir Shah received *no* provocation to this act of cruelty, whilst it was admitted by a few that a shot had been fired, and had killed or struck some one near him, which account was qualified by a third class, who allowed that a matchlock had been discharged, but accidentally, and not in the direction of the Shah. Unfortunately there was nothing in the character of this conqueror, or in his general conduct at Dehli, that supported the more exculpatory explanation. I found the horror which his acts had inspired still fresh in the minds of the people.

This invasion of Nadir Shah took place in the year 1739, and appears to have been as fatal to the prosperity of the capital and to the power of the Emperor as to the lives of his subjects.

The contributions alone which Nadir imposed when the defeat of the imperial army opened to him the gates of the city, and subsequently during his residence in it, are said to have amounted to thirty crores of rupees — over thirty millions sterling — exclusive of property, public and private, openly sequestrated or privately plundered, amounting, it is supposed, to as much more. But of course these statements must be received rather as denoting that the exactions and spoliation were excessive than as establishing their exact extent. Amongst the general plunder of the imperial palace was the celebrated Peacock-Throne, whose *place* I had seen the day of my visit to the Emperor, and whose value was said to exceed a million sterling.

Such was the spoil with which Nadir Shah, abandoning his second conquest, returned to his first, for the Persian throne, which he then occupied, he had before usurped. He retained in his retreat all the territory of the empire west of the Indus, and no more; showing, it must be allowed, a moderation in this respect that has hardly been equalled by European conquerors in India. Brave, active, temperate, trained to arms and hardships from his youth, Nadir Shah was undoubtedly a great general, and, with humanity, might have been a great king. In the early part of his life he was famed for his military deeds, under the name of Tomas Kouly Khan. He was assassinated soon after his return to Persia.

> Leaving a name at which the East grew pale,
> To point a moral, or adorn a tale.

I descended from the terrace, and riding through the market-place, the chief scene of slaughter, reached my palace, where my arrival gave much pleasure, having been expected since the preceding evening.

5th December.—This morning, accompanied by the Khan and a relation of his, by the moonshy and suite, I made an excursion through the city. I was everywhere well received by the people. Whenever I stopped to examine a palace or mausoleum, or walk

about a garden, presents of fruits and flowers were almost invariably brought me. Every inquiry I made was answered with peculiar ease and civility.[1] The houses being of brick and in lines near to each other, for the sake of shade, the streets of the modern capital of Hindostan are deficient in space and beauty, nor, excepting in the principal bazaars, and the avenues leading to them, do they exhibit much bustle or animation. The decay of the empire is visible at its centre, as well as at its extremities.

Modern Dehli was founded by the Emperor Shah Jehan, about the year 1631, soon after the commencement of his reign, and completed by succeeding emperors. The extreme heat of Agra, where the court had principally resided since the reign of Acbar, was said to have determined Shah Jehan to make this change in the seat of government. The new city was constructed chiefly with the materials of old Dehli, the population being removed, with as little ceremony as the stones and bricks, to the new metropolis.

The present city is surrounded by a high wall of red stone, and has seven gates, defended by large massive projections of the same material. The gates are those of Dehli, Lahore, Ajmere, Cabul, Moor, and Cashmire. The circumference of the walls is about six miles. The ancient city was taken by Timur or Timurleng (that is, Timur the lame, corrupted into Tamerlane) in the year 1398, in the reign of Mahomed III., and probably did not experience a much milder treatment than the modern city in the invasion referred to above, since the conqueror of Bajazet is always spoken of as an inhuman monster in the upper parts of Hindostan.

[1] The vulgar awkwardness which characterises the lower classes of some European nations, *one* more especially, is not to be found in India. This remark is as applicable to the interior of the provinces as to the cities and towns. A clownish countryman or gaping embarrassed youth is never seen. The grace, promptitude, and intelligence with which a village lad of ten years answers a question which a stranger stops to put to him must surprise every Englishman. On numberless occasions has it happened to me to make this observation, when mixing with the population of an extensive district under my charge.

Amongst the objects which I visited to-day was the Peish-Huzaree Bagh, once one of the most beautiful gardens of the capital, but now possessing little claim to notice. I saw also the tomb of Moolka Zama, daughter of Ferouckseer Padshah, and wife of the Emperor Mahomed Shah. The beauty of this monument fully corresponded with this double relation to the imperial throne.

After visiting the mausoleum of Zebun Niran Begum, I dismounted, and walked over the palace of the unfortunate Dara Sheko, brother of Aurungzebe, and barbarously put to death by his orders. Aurungzebe, as I have before observed, though a powerful and able monarch, stained his fame by acts of extreme cruelty, the most odious of royal vices. Other instances might be mentioned, but my object is not to enter upon a history of India, but merely to trace, *currente calamo*, a few of the personal circumstances of my journey.

I next visited the Mutchy Choon, and thence went to the Paion garden, where I partook of a handsome offering of fruit.

Turning now towards the Cabul gate, I saw the Madrissa, a spacious and even handsome building erected by Gazyuddeen. It is not the moment for alluding to a man's faults when recording his acts of virtue, meant, it is charitable to suppose, to atone for them; but I could not see without surprise a noble monument, dedicated to Instruction and Science, by a prince whose life was distinguished by so many crimes.

I afterwards saw the Gunter Munter, or observatory, built by the Rajah Jey Sing, upon the plan of the one at Benares, erected by the same promoter of science, and of which I may hereafter have occasion to speak.

I next rode to the famous gardens of Shaliman, formed by Shah Jehan, at an expense of a crore of rupees, or about a million sterling, but now exhibiting, for the greater part, a flowerless and deserted waste. It was impossible to see these many instances of unprofitable profusion, these *inania regia* of the sovereigns of Hindostan, without thinking of the patient

people whose scanty meal of rice was diminished by these exacted millions. If such royal extravagance and vanity be amongst the excusable indulgences of kings, they may, at least, be *combined* with objects of national honour or public utility.

Having now seen nearly everything worthy of notice, I returned to my quarters in the palace. In the afternoon I made purchases of some things that were brought to me.

In the evening I received, as usual, a visit from Sind Razy Khan, accompanied by some men of rank of the city—most polished men. When alone the Khan informed me that the Emperor, speaking of my journey to Dehli, had remarked that I had brought him the first true account of the events in Rohilcund, and of the victory of the British General, while he had not heard from the Vizier, the Nabob of Oude, whose duty it was to report these important proceedings. I desired Razy Khan to have the Emperor informed that I meant to set out on my return to Bengal on Monday, and that I should leave Dehli deeply impressed with His Majesty's favour and condescension. I said that he had acknowledged claims on the Government of the East India Company, to whose service I was officially attached, and with which my family had long been connected; and that the time might perhaps come when I might be in a situation to prove the interest I should ever feel in the prosperity of His Majesty's affairs. Surrounded as the imperial throne now was by the vaqueels of native powers, jealous and watchful of all foreign influence, and particularly of the powerful influence of the East India Company, these communications required some circumspection. But having succeeded in arriving so far, and witnessed the personal affliction of the old Emperor, I was extremely desirous of conveying to him information which might shed a ray of light upon his *mind*, at least by opening the prospect of more prosperous days.

6th December.—I this morning left Dehli with my suite to take leave of Shah Sahib, the Governor, at his agreeable residence outside the Agra gate. My particular acknowledgments were

due to this officer for the attention and consideration I had received from himself and others during my stay in the city under his charge. He received me in the same charming pavilion as before, and with similar honours. In the course of the conversation which ensued I alluded to the knowledge which I had found to exist among the learned men whom Sind Razy Khan had introduced to me, of Alexander's approach to Dehli. He said that this event was perfectly well known, and I found that he was acquainted with a story which the moonshy and others had mentioned to me; that Alexander, having crossed the last river (the Hyphasis), was attacked when alone by three soldiers, but placing himself against a tree kept off his assailants till some Greeks came to his assistance.

Upon my mentioning to the Shah my intention of proceeding on my return directly across the Doab, instead of taking the usual line by Agra, he spoke of the greater danger of the former road, and advised me to follow the latter, but on my stating that I particularly wished to quit the Jumna at Dehli for the sake of seeing the celebrated General De Boigne, he politely said that in that case he would send a proper escort to accompany me. After the usual offering of fruit and flowers, and a distribution of perfumes as before, I made my final salaam, and set out towards the city.

On my way home I visited a fine palace, formerly occupied by Kummoo-addeen, Vizier of the empire in the reign of Mahomed Shah. I thence went to the Musjid Zunnatal Mosunjid, erected by one of the daughters of the Emperor Shah Jehan; and afterwards to the Acbarabady Musjid, constructed by a princess of that name, also daughter of the said padshah. Lastly I visited the Musjid of the eunuch Newale Behader, situated nearly opposite the fortress. I now returned through the streets to my apartments in the palace.

7th December.—I this afternoon made a few additions to my purchases. I bought a doombah, or sheep, from Cabul, a distant country north-west of Dehli. It was remarkable for its size,

and handsome form, but more particularly for its immense tail, a great mass of fat, which hung like a thick round cushion, nearly as wide as the sheep itself, and reached almost to the ground. What was the use of this extraordinary appendage, was not apparent, but it was said that the sheep could live a long time without food, subsisting upon this great supply of fat which it carried behind it. However this might be, it was a noble animal, and though apparently not formed for *marching*, I hoped to get it to Bengal, whence I should endeavour to send it to England, either as a present to the King or to my father, for his beautiful grounds on the banks of the Thames at Isleworth.

I also bought a curious military weapon, being an axe with a gun in the iron handle, and a large two-edged dagger with a Hindoo figure upon it. It was meant to be worn in the girdle, and was a terrific instrument, especially as the handle was so contrived that it would be almost impossible to wrest it from the person using it. Some of my guards wore such a weapon, but of a commoner sort. To these objects I added a handsome coat of mail formed by a double concatenation of very small steel rings. A long story of royal service was probably worth but little excepting to the vendor, though it seemed not improbable that it had covered some princely person or chieftain of distinction, its neat elaborate construction rendering it both costly and handsome. Uniting considerable strength with lightness and flexibility, it seemed capable of turning a ball or resisting the stroke of a sabre.

I purchased also an accurate map of Dehli, neatly delineated with red and black lines on fine paper of a yellow hue. I already possessed a similar one of Agra, and another of the Taje. I procured also some bows of buffalo horn, painted red, and ornamented with gilt lines; and some quivers and arrows, the former covered with red cloth, and the latter made of a strong reed, also tastefully ornamented with gilt. I closed my collection with an entire copy of the Koran, neatly written, in miniature, upon a long roll of fine paper about three inches in width.

I received a further communication from the palace. It related principally to the Commander-in-chief, but also regarded myself. In addition to the marks of satisfaction which I had already received from the Emperor, Sind Razy Khan now communicated to me His Majesty's permission to wear a seal or other ornament, inscribed with his name and the date of my visit to the Presence.

I remained in my pavilion the rest of the day preparing for my departure the next morning, and in receiving the farewell visits of Sind Razy Khan and his friends. I had been so satisfied with the moonshy he had introduced to me that I had invited him to accompany me to Bengal, and having accepted the proposal, he also was busy in preparing for his great undertaking.

As the departure approached, the objections to the road I was about to take across the plain and through the great forest of Secundra were again represented to me, but I had found that in travelling, as in other situations, when embarrassments occur, the means of overcoming them generally present themselves; and I was unwilling to return to the South without seeing, if it were possible, General De Boigne, whose fame was spread through Hindostan.

In the evening twenty-one fine sepoys, armed with matchlocks and sabres, arrived from the Governor. I immediately gave orders for marching at daybreak.

On closing this part of my journal I will subjoin a few particulars respecting two or three persons whose names occur in the preceding pages.

The Great Mogol

Ally Gohar, the family or personal name of the reigning emperor in his youth, was born in the year 1723. Political difficulty and domestic affliction clouded his early years. After

the battle of Plassey he engaged in an attempt to dethrone Jaffier Khan, whom the English, as the preconcerted reward of his treason, had raised to the Subahship of Bengal without the imperial assent. This endeavour of the heir-apparent to prevent the degradation and dismemberment of the empire was not successful. It was in 1760, at the ancient imperial city of Sasseram in Shahabad, that the prince, then leading his army towards Bengal, was first saluted as Emperor on the news of his father's assassination at Dehli, receiving or assuming, notwithstanding the warning of his father's fate, the title of Shah Allum, or King of the World. His early and unexpected elevation to the throne seems to have excited the jealousy and ambition of his powerful Vizier, the warlike Surajah Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, and it was rather apparently as prisoner of state than sovereign, or even confederate, that he accompanied the latter to the field of Buxar.

In the year 1765 the East India Company, lately become the political friends of the Emperor, obtained from him the important cession of the entire and absolute administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, the choicest part of the imperial dominions, producing a land revenue alone of more than 3,000,000 sterling per annum. In return for this extraordinary grant the Emperor was to receive twenty-six lacs of rupees, or about £300,000 a year, and the districts of Allahabad and Corah, separated from the territories of the Nabob of Oude, were assigned for his residence. Whether this cession of a kingdom for a stipend was really dictated by the free generosity of the Emperor, or wrung from his misfortunes and weakness ; whether it would not have been more noble and disinterested in the East India Company rather to sustain the falling throne of the Mogols than despoil it of the little that remained of honour, power, or splendour; whether, finally, Lord Clive brightened or tarnished the escutcheon he had won at Plassey by his agency in this transaction, — are points beyond the limits of a cursory note, and, indeed, by their interest, obscurity,

and importance, deserving a distinct and more circumstantial consideration.[1]

It is remarkable that this singular convention proved even more advantageous to the Company in the result than the most provident views could well have contemplated; for though it was almost too much to expect that the party whom this great sovereignty rendered all-powerful could for ever continue to pay the stipulated tribute to the party become powerless and dependent, it was hardly probable that a pretext, just or specious, for discontinuing the payment altogether, would arise within a short period of the termination of the engagement. Such, however, was the case. For the Emperor, soon feeling the humiliation of his situation, preferred the chances of independence at Dehli to the secure but ignoble tranquillity which he enjoyed at Allahabad. Under these impressions he formed an alliance with the Mahrattahs, and, surrendering to them the ancient districts of the Nabob of Oude, took possession of the palace of his ancestors, in which he remained till I saw him.

The East India Company, who seem to have regarded the Emperor as their prisoner as well as their pensioner, stopped all payment of the stipend as soon as His Majesty quitted the resi-

[1] Some of the proceedings both of the British Government and of British individuals in India, from the first beginning of our political administration to the Government of Lord Cornwallis, a short time before my arrival in Bengal, discover acts of public ambition and personal cupidity to which it is impossible to look back without astonishment and shame. A little before the transaction alluded to above (the grant of the Dewanny by the Emperor), Lord Clive thus expressed himself to the Chairman of the East India Company. "We have at last arrived at that critical period which I have long forescen. I mean that period which renders it necessary for us to determine whether we can, at last, *take the whole to ourselves*. A large army of Europeans will effectually preserve us sovereigns. *After the length we have run*, the princes of Hindostan must conclude our views to be boundless ; they have seen such instances of our ambition that they cannot suppose us capable of moderation."

After the cession of sovereign power alluded to, his lordship says, "Your revenues by means of this new acquisition will not fall far short for the ensuing year of £3,000,000, and may be increased £200,000 or £300,000 more. Considering the excesses we have committed of late years, the princes of Hindostan will not readily imagine us capable of moderation, or ever be attached to us by any other motive than fear."

dence assigned him, retaining their perpetual sovereignty without any other acknowledgment for the future than the continuance of the old practice of coining their money in the imperial name.

Had Shah Allum succeeded to the empire in common times, or had he had common enemies to contend with or common friends to confide in, it is probable that his talents, his courage, and his virtuous intentions would have placed him amongst the most distinguished monarchs of his line.

Mirza Jewan

I have said that the heir-apparent, whom I saw sitting by the side of the blind Emperor, was Mirza Acbar. But there had been a son older than Acbar, named Mirza Jewan Bukkt. This prince, oppressed by the sight of his father's sufferings, determined upon a bold attempt for their relief. One night, in the year 1784, when every one in the palace had retired to rest, Mirza stole to the octagon room in the Shahberg, which the officers of the Emperor showed me, and, descending from one of the windows by means of a rope, crossed the Jumna and Ganges, and reached the capital of Rohilcund.

Fizoolah Khan, the excellent prince whom I have already mentioned, received him with great benevolence, and finding that he wished to get to Lucnow, furnished him with an escort and every necessary assistance. At Lucnow also he was well received by the Nabob Assuf ul Dowlah, and by Mr. Hastings, the Governor of Calcutta, then on a visit to the Vizier. Although Mr. Hastings felt himself obliged to refuse the solicited intervention of the Company's Government, he treated the fugitive prince with such kindness that the latter was induced to accompany the Governor-General to Benares.

Upon the departure of Mr. Hastings for Calcutta, Mirza returned to Lucnow. The Nabob now, however, received him with great coldness, from which it would appear that his former attentions arose from the presence of the Governor-General.

He again therefore proceeded to Benares, where he submitted his father's situation to the notice of Lord Cornwallis, who had succeeded Mr. Hastings in the government of the British possessions in India. There can be no doubt that Mirza's story moved the compassion of this amiable nobleman, although the latter, it seems, was unable to interpose publicly in his behalf. His lordship, however, offered the young prince a safe retreat at Benares for himself and family. These marks of interest determined Mirza to return once more to the capital of Oude, where, under the personal influence of Lord Cornwallis, a reconciliation, or the appearance of one, took place between him and the Nabob.

Mirza, however, receiving from the Vizier no real assistance for his father's relief, resolved to try his own resources. The Emperor was at this time attacked in his capital. Mirza Jewan, hearing this, raised a small force, hastened to Dehli, and by an extraordinary display of energy and judgment effected his father's deliverance. His younger brother Acbar joined him in his camp, and accompanied him into the city, where his reception by the Emperor is spoken of as most affecting. As a mark of his gratitude and confidence, his father conferred upon him the general direction of his affairs. Unfortunately this elevation, instead of requiting, as it was intended to do, the filial exertions of the prince, involved him in fresh misfortune. It excited the jealousy and resentment of Munsoor Ally, the same perfidious officer who subsequently delivered the Emperor into the hands of Gholam Khadir. This person represented the views of Mirza as deceitful and ambitious, and the prince had the mortification to find that the late proofs of his devotion were not sufficient to prevent the influence of these reports upon his father's mind. Willing, as before, to sacrifice everything to the Emperor's repose, he again quitted the palace. After experiencing in different parts of Hindostan the slights which follow princes in adversity, he once more sought refuge in Rohilcund. Driven thence by a plot against his life, he resolved to relinquish public affairs, to

dismiss his followers, to divide his remaining property amongst them, and to return a private individual to Benares. There a secure asylum, an allowance from the British Government, and the general respect shown to his rank and virtues, afforded, it is to be hoped, some degree of ease and satisfaction to the few remaining years of his life, for this was closed soon after by an illness so sudden as to produce some suspicion that malevolence continued to follow this prince to the last.

Begum Sumroo

I have said that the French Governor, with whom I passed an evening at Tappel, was in the service of the Begum Sumroo, a princess whose character and history are somewhat remarkable.

She was a Mussulman lady of rank, and married a German, whose name as Indianised was Sumroo. He was an adventurer, established at Patna, where he took the part of Cossim Ally when that city was attacked by Major Adams. Great atrocities, as I have stated, were committed on that occasion by the direction or connivance of the late Subah, and this German was, if not the chief instigator, the willing and unsparing agent of these cruelties.

Upon the surrender of the capital of Behar, Cossim Ally and Sumroo both fled to the north-west, keeping nearly the same course, but separating their fortunes. Cossim sought a refuge at Dehli, where he died, and where I saw his tomb. Sumroo entered the service of Zolficar ul Dowlah, a Mussulman, whose territory was about 200 miles to the north of Dehli. Here he married the individual destined to confer honourable celebrity on a name before associated with crime alone.

The active and aspiring character of the German, and probably some talents he possessed, soon raised him in the service of his chief. He obtained the command of Zolficar's troops, and the cession of a considerable quantity of land exempt from revenue.

Sumroo died in 1778, having, however, lived long enough not only to induce his wife to become a Christian, but to make her a general. She immediately assumed the command of the troops, managing at the same time with great ability the concerns of the Tashire. The natural resources of this little state were considerable: the soil was fertile, the climate healthy, and these advantages the Begum increased by the singular prudence of her administration.

But it was not by such proceedings alone that the Princess acquired celebrity. This eastern Clorinda was no less distinguished by her prowess in the field. It is strange to see a woman's arm sustaining the falling empire of the Mogols; but the Begum, always aiding the cause which appeared the least strong or the most just, was the constant ally of the Emperor Shah Allum, and on more occasions than one was the intrepid defender both of his person and throne.

In an attack made by the Rohillahs upon the fortress of Dehli, under the command of Gholam Khadir, the same chief who subsequently deprived the Padshah of his sight, she hastened at the head of her troops to the defence of the Emperor and his capital; and though no means were neglected by the traitorous persons who surrounded the throne to neutralise her interference, she remained faithful to her engagement, and succeeded in resisting the enemy until the heir-apparent, then absent from Dehli, arrived to his father's relief.

On another occasion, having taken the field with the old Padshah, her troops had the honour of being placed on the right of the imperial line. The enemy, despising or respecting such an opponent, directed his attack against the centre, and with such vigour as to threaten the personal safety of the Emperor. The Begum, perceiving this danger, advanced, seated upon an open palanquin, at the head of her artillery, which now justified the praises which I had received of it from the Governor of Tappel, for it opened such a well-directed fire upon the enemy as not only to stop his charge, but force him to a precipitate retreat.

Such were some of the acts and *actions* of the Begum Sumroo. So great was the celebrity they had acquired for her in the northern part of Hindostan, that if it had been possible for me to lengthen my journey, I should have paid her a visit at Sardanna, the name of her capital. I had, indeed, a great desire to do so, but my absence from Bengal was becoming long, and I was afraid of finding the Sooty Nullah closed on my return.

Return from Dehli

8th December.—At daybreak this morning I left Dehli. My party consisted as follows, viz :—

1 Jemmadar, or officer of sepoys.
20 Sepoys.
1 Khansamah, or head servant.
1 Khidmutgur, or inferior servant.
1 Cook.
1 Mater—a pariah.
2 Chuprasses of the East India Company—running footmen.
8 Bearers—carriers of palanquin.
5 Ditto, for the moonshy.
2 Coolies to carry the table and chair.
1 Syce, or horsekeeper.
1 Grass-cutter for the horse.
1 Coolie, to lead the doombah.
2 Bhingy burdurs, to carry the baskets containing my linen, etc.
1 Ditto, for the moonshy's baggage; making in all, fifty persons, including the moonshy and myself.

We passed near the remains of the palace of Firoz, and thence descended towards the banks of the Jumna, over a tract of land highly cultivated. I halted a few minutes to examine the fortress of the ancient city, and then crossed the Jumna nearly opposite its massy but ruined walls, at a ferry called Khiraty Ghaut. Though a boat was now necessary, the ferrymen informed me that the river was fordable here in the hot months, or season preceding the rains.

As I approached Dehli with satisfaction, I now left it with regret. The ruins of the old, and the shining minarets of the

new, city had both a tinge of melancholy interest as I looked back upon them from our large flat-bottomed boat, which moved slowly with its crowded and varied charge: palanquins, horse, soldiers, and Mussulmen and Hindoos, of different countries. The banks of the river on both sides of us were flat, sandy, and without trees. Upon leaving the boat, we quitted the river, at once taking our course across the plain, in a direction a little to the south of east.

The road was very sandy till we reached Bhirputpore, two miles from the Jumna. Here the country assumed a more cheerful appearance, the soil was less sandy, and there was some cultivation; but still the peasants carried their arms with them to the field—a necessity which indicated the absence of good government, even so near the capital. When four coss from the Jumna we crossed the Hinnon, a small stream which runs into that river.

It was two o'clock in the afternoon before we reached Surrajepore, twenty-four miles from Dehli. My people were fatigued with this long march, principally through a deep sand. Our progress had also been retarded by the doombah, who had indeed a great load to carry, and got on with difficulty, panting a good deal, and stopping every few yards to take breath.

Although Surrajepore was a very poor village, offering no accommodation, and the Aumil who governed it had gone off, leaving everything in disorder, it was necessary to halt here for the night. Feeling unwell, I went to bed early, placing my palanquin near some small huts at the entrance of the village, and lying down in it with my clothes on, my loaded pistols being under my head, and my sabre by my side. I ordered a watch to be kept all night, and the men to keep together with their arms ready.

I slept soundly, and awoke the next morning better than I had been the preceding evening; but in the night a circumstance had occurred that caused me much surprise and uneasiness. I had lost the valuable diamond pin which my uncle

John had given me upon my leaving England. I felt sure that I had it when I got into my palanquin. Some of the sepoys slept on the ground near me, under their cummerbunds, or long girdles of cloth, unfolded and stretched from their head to their feet, while one of them kept watch with his match lighted. A robbery, therefore, by an inhabitant of the village was scarcely possible. Still as I slept with one of the sliding doors of my palanquin open a few inches, for the sake of air, it was easy for one of my own people to slip it back a little further, and take the pin when I was asleep. I remained a long time in search and inquiry, before I quitted the spot, but without success. I was exceedingly grieved. In whatever way this loss happened I could not but reproach my own great negligence in travelling with such an object about me. It was very handsome and of great value, and was inestimable as the gift of my uncle, on my setting out for India.

Before I left this village I bought a small bedstead for the doombah, and hired two additional men to carry him on their shoulders, lying on the sacking. The stage before us was considered the least safe one of our journey, the road running through the great forest of Secundra, a noted ambush for robbers, and for the Mewatties and other predatory cavalry of the plain. Concealed in this very extensive wood, they could fall upon such parties of travellers as were weaker than themselves, or avoid, unobserved, such as were stronger. We entered the forest with all our matches lighted, an hour after sunrise, and had proceeded nearly a mile without observing anything, when the men at the head of the line stopped, and said they saw the traces of tigers. On riding up from the centre, where I then happened to be, I examined these footsteps. They were deeply printed in the sand, and it was evident that two tigers had recently crossed the road from right to left, in a very sloping direction, remaining upon it for a short distance. This circumstance led us to think that they were still probably not far from the line in which we were moving. The jungle en-

croached so much on each side that it was impossible to be beyond a tiger's spring, but keeping rather nearer the right side of the road than the left, to which the tigers had crossed, we moved forwards in a compact body, and arrived, without seeing or hearing anything, at a more open part of the forest.

Here large detached trees, with bushes and underwood, formed the first specimen of tree-forest scenery that I had seen in India. It appeared, however, that in this part we were more exposed to attacks of cavalry than before, and we continued, therefore, to move on in the same defensive attitude. When near the end of the wood we met a small caravan of travellers going to Dehli. It was as agreeable as the meeting of two ships at sea, and as we passed each other we exchanged salaams and inquiries and good wishes, much in the same manner. The variety of arms and dress which this party presented, with the mixture of horses, buffaloes, bullocks, and camels, was highly picturesque, and this effect was increased by the critical situation in which we met, and by the fine wild scenery which surrounded us. At length we reached the extremity of the forest, after a march of ten miles. I had heard so much of the dangers of this great wilderness before leaving Dehli, that I felt much as a sailor does after passing the Cape of Good Hope : the rest of the journey before us seemed all *plain sailing*. We soon after passed a pillar erected by the Aumil of Coel, the chief of the country, over the body of a notorious robber who had made this forest the scene of his depredations.

We immediately entered upon an extensive plain, without cultivation, though the noble trees and luxuriant jungle we had just seen showed the natural capabilities of the soil. From a number of tombs scattered about it seemed probable that some great battle had been fought here. Indeed the whole country I was passing over, bordering upon the successive capitals of Hindostan, during the course of many ages and the shock of various revolutions, might be considered eminently historical,

although the same causes which had reduced its plains to a desert and filled its forests with banditti and wild beasts had nearly effaced all traces of the important events of which it had been the theatre.

At half-past twelve we reached Secundra, once a town of sufficient importance to give its name to the forest we had left, as well as to this division of the country, but now a small village. I stopped here to breakfast and rest a few hours. Though the caravan which had passed had drained the scanty resources of this poor hamlet, my people were satisfied with what they were able to procure. The habitual abstemiousness of the natives of India renders them peculiarly fitted to cross these impoverished plains, where a small cake made of the Kisaree, with, and often without, a few aromatic herbs, is frequently all they find to requite the toil and heat of the day. After this insipid meal, moistened only with water from the nearest well, do these patient people lie down upon a mat in the open air, stretched under their unfolded girdles, sleep soundly till the morning, and then rise refreshed and cheerful,—cheerful at all events to resume their march,—and all this for less than threepence a day.

We continued our march at four in the afternoon. Flat sandy waste, enlivened, or varied rather, by a few trees here and there. Soon after dusk one of my men came to tell me that a party of horsemen, apparently Goujers, the worst tribe of banditti, was meeting us. Fearful as it is, there is something noble in the name of *Mewatty*, for courage commands a sentiment of respect, even in unlawful actions, when not allied with cruelty. The Mewatty is always the bold and often the generous assailant. He is the Macheath of the desert. Goujer, on the contrary, implies nothing but systematic craftiness and unsparing barbarity, and communicates no impression but terror and dismay. He is the Schinderhannes of the plains of Hindostan. My sepoys, though too brave to manifest alarm, were not the less sensible of the real nature of our situation.

I was in my palanquin, and I believe nearly asleep, when this report was brought me. I slipped my sword-belt over my shoulder, put my pistols in the holsters, and mounted my little charger to prepare for defence. But I soon found there was no time for this, for the horsemen were now close upon us, and their numbers, I saw, were greatly superior to our men. One resource alone presented itself. It was one which, however indefensible when not necessary, the preservation of my party seemed to justify. Drawing my long orange-coloured shawl over my head, I was at once transformed into a sirdar of the country. This, however, alone would be no protection to us. At the same time, therefore, I ordered the red cloth on the top of the palanquin to be let down over the sides, and I told the captain of the guard to reply when challenged, "Padshaheeka haremkee bibee sahib"—"A lady of the imperial seraglio." The head of the cavalry reaching us, the commander called out in a surly, uncivil tone, "Khe hy?"—"Who is there?" The captain of the guard replied, "Padshaheeka haremkee bibee sahib," and passed on. The chief of the banditti arriving opposite me, leaned forward on his horse and looked earnestly at me and then at the palanquin, giving me as he passed a cold salaam, which I returned, but without either of us saying anything. Many of his men addressed themselves in rather a taunting manner to mine, but I desired the latter to make no reply, and to leave the horsemen the greater part of the road, which indeed they were fully disposed to take. Disappointment, perhaps, was added to their natural roughness, for there was an insolence about them which I had never seen before in the natives of India, and I was afraid, as the two lines brushed each other, ours nearly shoved out of the road, that their rudeness would be too much for the patience of my spirited sepoys. They evidently wished to provoke a pretext for attacking us. Preserving, however, a perfect silence, and a reserve which accorded with the nature of our charge, we safely reached the extremity of their long line.

Excepting the greater length of their spears, and their incivility, I could perceive nothing in their appearance to distinguish them from the Mewatties we had seen before reaching Agra; but the Jemmadar of the Governor's men now informed me that they were all Goujers out on a marauding expedition, and were then probably in pursuit of the caravan we had met in the morning, and of which they would make an easy prey, for their numbers could not, as well as we could guess, be less than 150 or 200 men, well mounted and armed. The moonshy was not deficient in courage, but his frequent recurrence to this adventure showed that it had made a deep impression on his mind. For myself I could not but consider it fortunate that having fallen in with a party, first of Mewatties and now of Goujers, I had escaped from both.[1]

It was late before we reached Bulunsheer, the best village we had seen since leaving Dehli. The moonshy, inquiring into its history, was informed that a cazy had founded it 600 years ago, and that a descendant of his still held the same office, a continuity of succession rather extraordinary, considering the vicissitudes to which the country had been exposed during that period.

Amongst the population were many noble Seids, Mogols, Sheiks, and Afghans. There was a small manufacture of coarse cotton cloth. On the summit of an eminence was a mosque, built by one of the descendants of the old cazy in the time of Alumghir (one of the titles of Aurungzebe). We were informed that the village at which we had stopped to rest in the day was founded by Shah Secunder. Having taken my curry and rice, I got into my palanquin for the night.

March at daybreak. Sandy plain. In four hours pass Hatimabad, widely misplaced by Rennell. I learn that this

[1] This body of Goujers following the caravan brought to my mind the poor soldier and the alligator. The result in both cases would probably be much the same.

small village boasts of great antiquity, having been founded by a cazy in the reign of the Emperor Selim Shah. The same cazy erected a mosque of such durable materials that it is still in pretty good preservation. Here also is a small manufacture of cotton cloth: a few looms, probably which share the time of the ryots,[1] for the production of the white turbans, and kupra[2] of the inhabitants. The village chief is subordinate to Bulunsheer, and subject to the jurisdiction of Shah Nizam Uddeen, Soubahdar of Shah Jehanabad, and manager of the sircar (or government) of the reigning padshah.

After a short halt we continued our march over a flat sandy waste to Cojir, or Cojah, once a large and well-fortified village, and still sufficiently defended to be secure against the predatory attacks of wandering banditti. It is in the territory subject to General De Boigne. Around it appeared a few spots of cultivation, equal probably to its own wants. Breakfasted and dined here.

A very respectable man, Hoseen Khan, paid me a visit, and, appearing intelligent, I begged him to relate the history of his village, which he did in the following words, as taken down by the moonshy, as he spoke.

"This part was formerly full of wilds, and infested by Mewatties, who plundered and ravaged caravans. Thither some dervishes, who possessed much sincerity and magnanimity, arrived from Villant, and settled themselves. The Afghans, relying greatly upon their confidence, devoted themselves to their service. The sovereignty of Dehli had been in the hands of the Afghans. And the dervishes said to the Afghans, 'Can there be any way contrived to extirpate the Mewatties, so that travellers may be secured from their oppression?' The Afghans answered, 'We are willing to obey the injunctions we receive.' It was accordingly resolved to assault and massacre the Mewatties, on a day a marriage would take place among them, when they would become drunken and senseless, for it was their custom to drink excessively on marriage days."

[1] Peasants. [2] Cloths worn by the people.

"After a short interval of time, the Mewatties, as was resolved, were slain by the Afghans of the adjoining villages, and travellers were delivered from their wickednesses. Then the Afghans peopled the place, and called it Korjah, which signifies a town. The inhabitants thereof are mostly Afghans, and other noble tribes. Some of them adopt merchandise, some jemmadarry, some rosaladarry, and some soldiery, and only a small part husbandry. The town now wears a face of desolation, owing to the dominion of the Mahrattahs. Sooruj Mul Jhaut in his time made a fortress in it, of exceeding strength. Much saltpetre and some indigo are produced here."

The opinion which this worthy man expressed of the inadequacy of my escort to the insecurity of the road we had to go that evening, determined me to apply to the chief of the village for a reinforcement. I accordingly desired the moonshy to write to the Hakim, to inform him that I was on my way to General De Boigne, and to request that he would send me ten sepoys as an addition to my own guard, to accompany me across the plain to Chandoos, where I intended stopping for the night. It was not long before I received a very polite answer, and ten sepoys well armed. I also procured an exchange of men to carry the great sheep.

With my regiment, now counting thirty men, we commenced our march over one of the most desolate tracks of country I had yet seen. The peculiar danger for which it seemed to be noted was owing apparently to the deep ravines which intersected it, as well as to the numerous sand-hills formed by the wind, both favourable to ambuscades. It was to avoid as much as possible these obstructions, and the concealment they afforded, that we made a considerable deviation to the west, so much so, that instead of moving in a straight line towards Chandoos, we described nearly a semicircle to the right, thus lengthening our march very considerably, though gaining, probably, in safety. When we advanced upon the plain, the night became so dark that it was not easy to find our way even with the aid of our

Cojah sepoys, and without these it would have been difficult to extricate ourselves from the labyrinth of intersections, or, having gained the open plain, to keep a proper direction over a trackless surface without a star or steady wind to guide us. At length, at a late hour, we reached Chandoos without having seen a living creature, or scarcely a blade of grass, on our way.

Having ordered a supper for the ten men, and distributed a few rupees amongst them, I desired them to return to Cojah the next morning, and directed the moonshy to write a note to their chief, to express my satisfaction with their services.

Being now only eighteen miles from the residence of General De Boigne, I write a note to him, to inform him of my being on my way to see him.

10*th December.*—March at daybreak, and at the same time send off one of the chuprassies and two sepoys with the note to General De Boigne. At ten o'clock halt at a small village, surrounded by a high wall, but the inhabitants, intimidated at the appearance of my sepoys, or rather, perhaps, as a measure of prudent precaution, shut the gate, and refused to admit us. It was impossible to allay their suspicions by the assurance that I wanted nothing but provision for my people, and a barber to shave me, as I was going to pay a visit to General De Boigne. The people collected on the top of the gateway, and on the walls by the side of it, but could not be prevailed upon to let us in. After some parley, however, they agreed to send out a barber, and to admit one or two of my people to buy food.

This treaty soon received its execution. The barber came creeping through the small wicket of the gate, and the deputies of my people passed in through the same entrance. Although the morning sun was shining hot upon the walls, which faced the east, I seated myself in front of the garrison, and in allowing their delegate to put a strangely-fashioned instrument, resembling a clumsy knife, to my throat, I seemed to show quite as much confidence in them as they were disposed to place in us. The objects of the negotiation being completed, and the respective

hostages reciprocally re-exchanged, I made a salaam to the cautious commandant, and moved on, anxious for the meeting that approached.

At half-past one the large town of Coel was visible across the plain, to the south-east; a cheering object in itself, after the depopulation of the country so far, but chiefly interesting as the residence of the General whose name had acquired a brilliant celebrity through all India, of late years, although I had never met any one who had *seen* the distinguished individual, of whom every one had heard. I soon after met the chuprassy whom I had despatched in the morning. He was returning with a native officer whom General De Boigne had sent to say that he impatiently expected my arrival.

The General's residence soon appeared a little to the left of the town, but I could see only the flat roof above the wall which surrounded it. We soon reached it, and my palanquin was put down at the entrance, amidst a crowd of servants, whose handsome white dresses formed a contrast singularly unfavourable to the dusty apparel of my followers. They received me with great respect, and conducted me through the gate into the garden, in the centre of which I saw the General's house, and before I had advanced many steps, I perceived the General himself, coming to meet me.

His reception was most polite and cordial. He was pleased to express himself flattered at my coming so far out of the usual and safest road for the purpose of seeing him. He took me into a large room on a level with the garden walk, and after we had sat together by the side of the dining-table which was in the middle of it, he ordered his servants to bring in fruits and other refreshments. In the meantime he showed me my bedroom—a small apartment simply but neatly furnished, at the end of the great hall. Here, as in the dining-room, white, undecorated walls, a mat upon the floor, and a few plain chairs, with the addition of a small cot, bespoke less the limited resources of the country than the simplicity of the General's character and the

habits of a military life. He left me in this room, with numerous attendants, some of whom poured cool water upon my hands and washed my feet, while others unpacked my baskets and gave me clean linen. After this luxurious indulgence, one of the greatest that the East affords, I hastened back to the General, with whom I was already much pleased. His tall, upright figure and martial deportment reminded me of Sir Robert Abercromby; while a polite, gracious relaxation of a certain air of military austerity was not perhaps less prepossessing than ease more habitual.

Dinner was served up at four. It was much in the Indian style: pillaus and curries, variously prepared, in abundance; fish, poultry, and kid. The dishes were spread over the large table fixed in the middle of the great hall, and were, in fact, a banquet for a dozen persons, although there was no one to partake of it but the General and myself. The conversation turned upon the great political and military events then going on beyond the Ganges. Finding that I had accompanied Sir Robert Abercromby from Bengal, he made many inquiries about the British Commander-in-chief, the meeting between him and the Nabob of Oude at Dalmow, the battle in Rohilcund, etc. The latter event was well known in this part of the country, and had made a great impression; but the details having been given by the Rohillahs, had been much distorted to their advantage.

When dinner was over, the General asked me if I would like to take a ride with him on his elephant. I gladly accepted this proposal, and in half-an-hour a very fine animal was ready at the garden gate. It went readily down upon its knees, or rather upon the inside of its fore and hind-legs, all being extended outwards; and a ladder with broad steps being placed against its side while in this position, General De Boigne invited me to ascend, and he mounting also, we both took our seats by the side of each other in the howdah, a handsome pavilion fastened on the elephant's back by thick cords and

belts which pass under its belly. Preceded and followed by numerous hircarrahs and other attendants, we first made a short circuit over the plain, and then proceeded towards the stables of the General's celebrated bodyguard, or rather to the spot where the horses were picketed, for they were not in *stables*, but in the open air, attached to pegs driven into the ground. A rope fastened to the pastern of each fore-leg was tied to a peg placed a few feet in front of the horse, and his hind-legs were secured in a similar way to a more distant peg driven into the ground behind him. His head being also tied either to the fore-peg or to others placed more laterally, he was securely *moored*. The General said that his horses being thus exposed to the weather, were hardy, and little affected by its variations on taking the field. They certainly appeared not to suffer from this way of living, for they were in excellent condition, and seemed to merit in every respect their high reputation and the General's partiality. My satisfaction was really great, and the General seemed pleased with it. He perhaps saw that my praise was sincere, and was not aware that it was possible to live so long at headquarters without acquiring any knowledge of military affairs.

The number of horses thus picketed was 500, the normal complement of the General's personal guard. Amongst them I could perceive the Toorkey and the Tazee (the race of my black horse at Santipore), and the breed called Persian, though coming probably from countries east of the Indus. This colour was almost exclusively bay. Judging from the price of horses at Dehli, I supposed that each horse might be worth, on an average, from three to four hundred rupees, or from thirty to forty pounds sterling. The value of some, whose beauty was remarkable, was doubtless far above this medium. It was probable that many of the finest were presents from princes of neighbouring states. But the wide range of country under the command of the General, or subject to his influence, as well as his conquest of provinces noted for the excellence of their horses, afforded him great facilities in the formation of such a body of cavalry as I saw.

We moved slowly down the rear of the right division, and then returned up the rear of the left line. The horses would doubtless have been frightened at the elephant, and perhaps the elephant at the horses, if we had gone along the middle between them. The appearance of the horsemen, who stood in their handsome picturesque dresses by the side of their horses, and saluted the General as we passed, was no less striking. They were all fine men, with the reddish complexion and martial physiognomy of the northern provinces. I told the General that I should be asked many questions respecting this regiment, on passing through the stations of the Company's army, and that I lamented my inability to do it justice. He informed me that the horses and accoutrements were his own property, having been provided at his own expense. Afterwards, when the General quitted India, he transferred it to the East India Company, the men entering voluntarily the Company's service. The sum given by the Company was about £3600. General De Boigne told me afterwards, in Europe, that it was to an officer appointed by Sir Robert Abercromby that the regiment was delivered up. The inspection being over, we made another digression across the plain, and as soon as it was dark returned to the house, took coffee at the table in the great hall, and remained in conversation till a late hour. I proposed continuing my journey the next day, but the General insisted upon my staying longer with him. He said I was now his prisoner, and he could not consent to release me so soon.

11*th*.—Breakfast with the General in the great hall, he taking his seat at the head of the long table, I my usual one by the side. When the things were removed, and he had called for his first chillum,[1] he said he must introduce his son to me, and

[1] A composition or paste made of tobacco, spices, and aromatic herbs, and placed, not *itself* ignited, but under ignited balls, on the hooka, the smoke thus passing through the unburnt chillum, and afterwards, in its long winding course, through cold water and a long tube called the *snake*, moistened with rose water. What a mean, vulgar thing does the *bacco*-pipe seem, when compared with this, even in the mouth of its great patron, Dr. Parr.

giving some orders to his servants, they returned in a short time, with a child about three or four years old, and placed him in a high chair by the side of his father. The General was not married, but he had, it appeared, his seraglio, in the eastern fashion, though not, it was to be hoped, so many wives in it as the Great Mogol. The little boy was dressed much as the child of a prince of the country would have been—a sort of turbaned cap, similar to what his father wore, on his head, a handsome shawl over his shoulders, crossing round his waist, and sandals, worked with gold thread, on his feet. There was a slight tint, Cashmirean or Hindostanee, in his complexion; and a delicacy in his features and form that led me to doubt whether he would ever attain his father's tall and vigorous stature.

Soon after a great many natives of rank, who had left their horses or palanquins at the gate, arrived successively. They were very handsomely dressed, and wore valuable shawls of different colours, principally white, orange, and green, and turbans, varying also in colour and shape, according to the rank, country, caste, or taste of the wearer. After salaaming, first to the General, then to his son, and then to me, they took their seats upon a carpet spread for them upon the mat round the edge of the room. Such as came for the first time presented a nuzzur, or offering of gold or silver, according to his station, to the General, who took it off the cloth on which it was laid and placed it on the table. A smaller offering was then held in the same way to the Sahibzada, or heir, or firstborn, as he was called, seated on the General's left, and after he had touched it with his right hand, in sign of acceptance, it was placed before him also on the table. At the end of the ceremony there was a small heap of gold mohurs and rupees before the child, who went through this early initiation in eastern manners very readily, receiving and answering the salutations of the persons introduced, and touching their gifts, without any kind of embarrassment.

When all these respectable men were seated they nearly lined three sides of the hall, so that, not to turn my back

towards some of them, I was obliged to move my chair and place myself to the right of the General. The view which I had of these nobles of Hindostan from where I now sat was extremely interesting. It would be difficult to find an assembly more rich in materials for the pencil.

The persons composing this fine gallery were chiefly vaqueels, or ambassadors, from the surrounding states, sent to propitiate the favour of the victorious General; and it was evident that in this choice attention had been paid to their personal appearance as well as to their rank and talents. The homage of so many princes attested the influence which General De Boigne possessed in this part of India, and was the result, doubtless, of the success which had attended his arms since he had been in the service of Madajee and Dowlut Rao Scindia.[1] He had been engaged during that period in twelve great actions, in all had defeated the forces of the enemy, and in some instances had taken possession of his capital and country.

Amongst the most celebrated of these victories was that which he had gained four years before at Mairta over the Rajpoots, a powerful people and one of the most warlike of this part of India. He defeated their army and took from them sixty pieces of cannon. The same year was memorable for another victory, over various tribes, at Patun. He subsequently took possession of the capitals and countries of Jeypore and Ajemire, rich and extensive provinces west of the Jumna. In the year of my arrival in India he had defeated the armies of the celebrated Holkar, one of the most formidable leaders of the Mahrattah states.

These histories of the General's battles, extorted from him by my pressing curiosity, were given with an unaffected reserve that completed the charm of these valuable relations. I had indeed heard much of the extraordinary victories of the European General before I left Bengal, for their fame had filled all India; but I did not know distinctly who this great

[1] The father and son: Mahrattah princes.

commander was, or where he resided; still less did I imagine that I should one day be sitting by his side at his headquarters, hearing the modest recital of his wars from his own lips, and see him in the meridian of his glory, surrounded by the representatives of the states which he had conquered and restored.

To return to the General's levee. When all his distinguished visitors were seated, he addressed a few words first to one then to another, principally upon subjects of a local nature, referring to the parts of the country they respectively came from, or to the chiefs they represented. The topics had no particular importance, for important topics were obviously avoided in this courteous intercourse; but I was never more sensible of the characteristic charm of eastern manners than on this occasion. No European court could well display more propriety, more delicate tact and grace, than did these noble delegates of Hindostan. Nor did the General less excel in his part. His dignity was remarkable. It seemed as if he were formed to command alike in the council and in the field.

After listening to this conversation for some time, I rose and retired to my room, leaving the General to the affairs of state which would probably follow. I was soon joined by the moonshy, accompanied by two intelligent inhabitants of Coel whom he had found out for the purpose of giving me information respecting that town.

After dinner to-day the General again ordered his elephant, and, accompanied by a more brilliant escort than before, took me to see the town of Coel. It is considerable, but contains nothing remarkable, excepting the mosque. This, as the two learned inhabitants had told me, was built on the site of a Hindoo temple. Adjoining it on the south side are the remains of a minar, built by the founder of the high Kuttul Minar which I had ascended near Dehli, a circumstance that seemed to show that that emperor had a taste for these lofty constructions, and did not always, at least, erect them to enable his Hindoo ladies

to see a holy river. This minaret also was itself of great height, and, standing upon an eminence, its summit was perhaps as much above the plain as the cupola of the Kuttul Minar already described. About forty feet only now remain, of which the lower thirty are of red stone and the other ten of brick. The old winding staircase still existed. The General told me that Coel, being attacked a few years before by a body of Seiks, he retired with his adherents to the interior of the mosque and made a very gallant resistance for some time, and finally succeeded in repelling the assailants after much bloodshed on both sides. Leaving Coel, we prolonged our ride till it was nearly dark, and then returned to the General's residence.

This evening the General's conversation was particularly interesting, and in some degree confidential. He said he much wished to remain on good terms with the East India Company, but that he was quite prepared to meet their forces in the field, should such a necessity arise. He alluded to the late campaign under Sir Robert Abercromby in Rohilcund, and, pointing out the errors of the defence made by the Rohillahs, did not scruple to disclose the system of tactics he should adopt under similar circumstances. I was amused with the frankness and good-humour with which he expressed himself upon this subject; and upon my asking him if I might communicate what he said to Sir Robert Abercromby, he laughed and said, "Oh, yes, you are perfectly welcome to do so;" he added that he had a great respect for Sir Robert, and trusted they should never meet but as friends. But that part of his conversation was the most interesting which related to his own history.

Having asked me how old I was when I quitted England, he said that it was nearly at the same age that he quitted his country. I observed that it was generally believed in Bengal that he was a native of France. He said that he knew that such an opinion prevailed, but that it was erroneous. He had first entered the French service, but was born at Chambéry in Savoy. From the French he passed into the Russian service,

and was made prisoner in an engagement with the Turks. While in this situation he became acquainted with Lord Percy, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, then in the Mediterranean, and he said his lordship rendered him essential service. He seemed to ascribe his release to Lord Percy's influence. Upon recovering his liberty he determined to set out for India, a country he had a great desire to see; and proceeding by Suez and the Red Sea, reached Bombay and subsequently Madras. Here he engaged in the service of the East India Company, but wishing after two or three years to return to Europe, he decided upon endeavouring to make his way by the north of India. With this view he embarked for Calcutta, where he was well received by Mr. Hastings, the Governor-General. He spoke with much gratitude of the assistance and protection which Mr. Hastings afforded to his project in giving him letters to the Nabob of Oude and other princes of the countries he was to pass through. But notwithstanding these advantages he was stopped and detained as a prisoner by the authorities of Madajee Scindia, on the borders of the Jumna. Ten years had elapsed since this eventful occurrence—a short period for the accomplishment of the multiplied transactions and extraordinary changes it embraced.

Here the General described the difficulties he had to encounter, the prejudices to overcome, the innate distrust of a native prince to remove, the dangerous jealousy of rivals to counteract. The result was that the young De Boigne—for he was only about thirty-five years of age—aided by the resources of a mind singularly formed for such a situation, active, enterprising, penetrating, judicious, gradually made his way through all the difficulties that surrounded him; and making his captivity itself the foundation of his triumph, converted the first alarm of the Hindoo prince into confidence, his oppression into acts of favour and kindness, his hostility into unbounded friendship, till at length, from being a prisoner in his hands, he rose to be the defender of his country and the victorious leader of his armies.

Besides the regiment of cavalry I saw, the General had organised three brigades of infantry in the European manner, amounting to nearly 25,000 men, of whom the greater part was armed with muskets and bayonets, the remainder with matchlocks. Annexed to this effective force was a park of artillery, consisting of 120 guns.

That the payment of these troops might be subject to no contingency, General De Boigne was himself invested with the administration of an extensive province, and with the application of its revenues to the above object; so that, in fact, he shared the government of Scindia as well as the direction of his forces.

The proper discipline of his brigades, according to the European system, necessarily required the employment of a few European officers under him. These, I understood, were Frenchmen, and the General told me that his chief difficulty now was in managing *them;* in giving them authority enough to be useful, but not enough to be dangerous; in conciliating their attachment while keeping them at a proper distance; in establishing due limits to their intrigues; and in disconcerting, without exposing, their ambition.

While securing and extending the power of his employer, it was supposed that General De Boigne had not neglected the opportunities which his situation presented of improving his own fortune, with the view, it was probable, of returning some day to his own country; for I could perceive that all the pomp and circumstance he enjoyed on the plains of India had not obliterated his affection for his native hills. It appeared also that what he possessed was the reward of his military achievements, or due to the boundless generosity of Scindia, and not the result of commercial concerns in which he did not engage. In this respect he might say, with another Generalissimo almost from his own country, "Guerreggio in Asia, e non vi cambio, o merco."

12*th December.*—I had intended to continue my journey this

morning at daybreak, but the General invited me pressingly to spend another forenoon with him. After breakfast the Sahibzada was again introduced, and received the same homage and the same offerings as before. The General proposed my sending back the guard and all the people I had brought from Dehli, saying he would furnish me with an escort and everything else that was necessary for my return to the Ganges. I in consequence sent back the bearers and others, retaining only the guard, who had orders from the Governor of Dehli to accompany me to Futtighur. At the same time he pointed out to me the nearest and usual road, but earnestly invited me to take another, for the purpose of calling upon an Englishman, a very accomplished man and intimate friend of his, to whom the sight of a countryman would be particularly gratifying. He said that he would give me an introduction to this gentleman, and that I should reach his residence that evening.

And now, at a little after twelve, terminated a visit which every circumstance attending it had rendered most satisfactory and agreeable. I took leave of the General at the garden gate, when he put a fine escort of eleven horsemen and fifteen sepoys under my orders to the Company's nearest military station, and delivered to me the following note :—

Dear Longcroft,—Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Twining, a civil servant of the East India Company, who went on a peregrination to Dehli, and is on his way back to Futtighur. Mr. T. was intentioned to go directly to Secundra, but I have prevailed on him to see you at Jellowllee, persuaded you will be obliged to me when acquainted with his amiable qualities, with which you will be much pleased, as I have been, knowing your taste for all that is agreeable and flattering.—I remain, with esteem, yours most affectionately,

B. De Boigne.

My escort had never been so respectable as now. It consisted of forty-seven excellent soldiers. I rode all the afternoon with the captain of General De Boigne's party—a fine intelligent man, who spoke with pride of his General's campaigns, and amused me with stories of the Goujers and Mewatties.

The country resumed its desolate appearance. It was a flat waste, abandoned entirely to nature, no sign of human industry being visible. All that broke and varied the uniform surface was a waving line, traced faintly through the sand by preceding travellers, who seemed to have followed the footsteps of each other, as I did theirs. The great sheep, recruited by the halt at Coel, marched this stage.

At five in the afternoon a village, built apparently upon a sandy protuberance which rose above the general level, appeared before us towards the horizon. When the captain of General De Boigne's guard informed me that this was the village at which the English gentleman lived, I could feel no regret at coming out of my way to spend a few hours with him. Upon arriving at the end of the village I found that it was, as it had appeared to be, constructed upon a small sandy eminence, just spacious enough for a street along the central line, and a few houses on the declivities. It appeared a sort of military position, and was probably chosen on that account, especially as this advantage of position was all the defence it had against the formidable banditti who continually scoured the plain. For it had not a wall, the almost invariable protection of villages in these lawless parts, nor even a gate to bar the entrance to the street—a usual and salutary precaution, preventing surprise, and affording the inhabitants time to arm and assemble in their defence.

As I rode up the gentle acclivity of the street at the head of the party I observed that our numbers and military array drew the inhabitants from their houses; but the chief of the escort informed them that it was a traveller going to pay a visit to the foringhy sahib, or foreign gentleman. Having cleared the village, we turned a little to the left, when high mud walls, with a strong projecting gateway, appeared as a small fortress before us. This was the residence of the General's friend. It was about a hundred yards from the extremity of the village.

Upon arriving at the gate, which was a few yards to the left

of the road, we found it shut, nor was there anybody outside. Upon approaching it, however, we heard some bustle within, and concluded that our arrival had been observed. The captain of the guard knocked, and, explaining who we were, desired admittance. The only answer from within was that the gate could not be opened. Further explanation was given, but the same answer was returned. I now took the General's note from my pocket, and delivering it to one of my servants, directed him to thrust it under the gate, and to request that it might be taken to the Sahib.

In a very few minutes the great gate was thrown open, and we marched in. Some armed people were under the deep arch, and against its walls I observed swords, shields, and matchlocks in numbers sufficient to equip many more.

After passing a few low buildings attached to the entrance, and which I supposed to be destined for the accommodation of the servants and others forming the garrison, I came upon the area of the fort, and in the middle of it saw a small bungalow. I here halted my people, and, riding alone across the open space, dismounted at the edge of the verandah, raised a little above the level of the ground. A servant conducted me across it, and raising a large purdah, or curtain, that was suspended before a doorway, showed me into a spacious but extremely dark room.

I had not been half a minute alone before I perceived a tall thin figure in a long loose dressing-gown advancing through the obscurity towards me. Although the solemn gravity of Mr. Longcroft's manner, his dress, the darkness, and everything around me, brought the idea of a hermit to my mind at this moment, this impression was at once dispelled by a certain peculiar charm in his language as he took me by the hand, and gave me the kindest welcome. If his first appearance seemed to correspond with the dreariness of his abode, his expressions were those of a man of education and of the world. He regretted my detention at the gate, but such a visit he said was most unusual, and the appearance of my horsemen and soldiers had

led to measures of preparation which the state of the country rendered indispensable. He immediately placed a small room, servants, and cold water at my disposal, and finding that I had not dined, ordered dinner to be prepared.

Upon my rejoining Mr. Longcroft in the dark hall, he asked me if I would like to take a short walk. Upon my replying that I should like much to see his indigo works, he said they were very near, and that we would walk to them.

In going out of the fort we passed through a small wicket in the great gate, the latter having been closed for the night. Having remarked, again, the arms of different kinds hung upon the walls of the gateway, Mr. Longcroft said that this state of readiness was always necessary since the attacks on the villages, as well as on travellers, were made by parties of cavalry, the rapidity of whose movements prevented all notice of their approach. Turning to the left under the wall of the fort, we descended the eastern declivity of the eminence on which the village stands, and at the bottom of it arrived at the indigo works.

They consisted of a long range of vats or tanks of about sixteen feet square and six deep, constructed of substantial masonry, and covered with chunam or fine mortar. In front of this line was a second range somewhat smaller, and so much lower as to admit of water running into them from the bottom of the upper range.

The process of manufacture, as Mr. Longcroft described it to me, was as follows. The indigo plant, a shrubby bush about three feet high raised from seed which had been sown in the spring of the current or preceding year, being cut in the rainy season, is put upon hackeries or carts drawn by cows or bullocks and carried to the factory, where it is placed and pressed down in the *larger* or *upper* vats, and remains there covered with water all night, or a longer or shorter time, according to the age of the plant, the quality of the water, or the state of the atmosphere. The next morning, if the water is supposed to be

duly saturated with the colouring property of the plant, it is drawn off into the *lower* vats, where it is beaten and agitated in various ways, sometimes by men splashing about in it till the colouring matter granulates and descends to the bottom, forming there a blue slime or mud. The water is then allowed to run away, and the blue sediment or indigo being taken up and strained, is formed into small cubical cakes, by means of little frames or moulds resembling those used by bricklayers in making bricks. These cakes, being allowed to dry gradually, so as not to crack, are finally packed in the strong oblong chests in which they make their appearance in the markets of Europe.

Upon my asking Mr. Longcroft how much indigo he made usually, he said that the quantity depended so much upon the season as to be subject to great variation. He had that year made 3000 maunds, but had the season been favourable to his crops his cultivation was extensive enough to yield 5000 maunds. I expressed my surprise at these quantities, which greatly exceeded the produce of the most extensive works in Bengal, and I observed that with one or two good years he would be able to return to Europe with a fortune. He said that one or two successful seasons would indeed enable him to leave India, but that such an expectation generally proved delusive, an indigo planter in those parts being subject to a succession of unfavourable years, in which the produce was so disproportioned to the extent of cultivation as barely to reimburse his expenses. The want of an adequate supply of water to compensate the deficiency or irregularity of the rains seemed to be his chief inconvenience. He showed me a large tank which he said was frequently the subject of desperate battles between the cultivators in a dry season. As he drew part of his supply of water from the same reservoir, I rather inferred that he also had a share in these conflicts.

As the evening closed Mr. Longcroft observed that it would not be prudent to remain out longer. He said that even in the

daytime there was little safety beyond his walls, and that his continuance at Jellowllee would be almost impossible without the known protection of General De Boigne. The General, he said, had lately promised him a small cannon.

On returning to his citadel we passed through the small wicket as before, but on re-entering the bungalow things were greatly changed. The *gloomy* hall had disappeared, lights were on the table, a cheerful fire blazed upon the hearth, and a dinner that was far from requiring the apologies my hospitable host made for it was placed before me; and as he served me with some excellent soup, and cut up a well-roasted chicken, and addressed me in my own language, I could, but for the turbaned servants who waited upon us, have almost fancied myself surrounded by the green fields of our common country instead of the arid plains of the Doab.

By the light now cast upon Mr. Longcroft's pale features as he sat fronting the fire I was grieved to perceive that ill-health aggravated the painful circumstances of his situation, while his discourse discovered a mind and accomplishments altogether lost in such a seclusion from the world. It would seem that there is something in the meeting of two persons of the same country, or the same part of the world, in a distant region of the globe that banishes reserve and inspires confidence. Thus, like General De Boigne, this unknown gentleman, whose name I had never heard before, spoke to me, a perfect stranger to him, of his personal and domestic affairs of the most private description. Passing by these confidential communications I will relate a story of another sort which he told me as we sat before the fire till a late hour.

One afternoon, not long previous to my visit, a party of Pindarries (a third tribe of robbers) came down suddenly upon the village of Jellowllee, and were making their way through it to attack Mr. Longcroft's castle, taking with them such plunder as the poverty of the inhabitants afforded. These, however, fought with great bravery, retreated up the village step by step,

and at length succeeded in arresting the progress of their assailants near the top of the street.

Here the conflict became very obstinate, and many were killed on both sides. But the Pindarries were powerful; their number amounted to 300. While, however, the two parties were thus engaged, one of the villagers, who was fighting in front, having distinguished and marked the leader of the enemy, quitted his companions, ran round, and, coming up behind the Pindarries, speared their chief in the back. The party, dismayed by the fall of their commander, retreated down the street; and Mr. Longcroft, who was waiting the result of the action within hearing of every shot, escaped.

The Pindarries having reached the bottom of the street, wheeled to the right, and galloped off in the rear of Mr. Longcroft's house, passing close to his indigo works. Plunder and devastation marked their way to the Ganges. Here they turned to the north, and followed the course of that river to Anopshur, a military post in the kingdom of Oude, where there was a detachment of the Company's troops, under the command of Colonel Robert Stuart, for the protection of the Nabob's territories in that quarter.

The Colonel happened to be taking his morning ride when the Pindarries came by. Galloping in between him and the cantonments, they cut off his retreat, made him their prisoner, and carried him off. They kept him in their troop many days, a sharer of the extraordinary events of their predatory life, and finally took him across the Jumna to a country to the north-west of Dehli, not far from the dominions of the Begum Sumroo.

This princess, hearing that an English officer was prisoner in a neighbouring state, lost no time in interceding for his release. The demand of a heavy ransom did not check her generous resolution. She sent the required sum, and Colonel Stuart arrived at the court of his benefactress, by whom he was treated with great consideration, till she had an opportunity of sending him in safety to his own station.

In this manner India and, with greater interest, England afforded the subjects of our conversation till the fire was nearly burned out, and till it became necessary to terminate this delightful intercourse by preparations for my journey the next morning, for I found myself obliged to decline Mr. Longcroft's invitation to remain longer with him.

Although the account he gave me of the country I had to pass through was by no means favourable, many of the villages being in possession of Rohillahs, exasperated by the conquest of their country by Sir Robert Abercromby, I was unwilling to take General De Boigne's horsemen any farther, and I therefore desired them to return the next day with a note to the General, in which I expressed my satisfaction with their services and the gratification which his introduction to his friend had procured me. Mr. Longcroft had wished me to accept a bed; but as it was my intention to proceed at daylight, I preferred sleeping in my palanquin, placed in his verandah. He accompanied me to my *bedside*, where I took leave. There was at this moment a friendly, or rather an affectionate anxiety for my safety, that struck me; and his last kind words before returning across the hall to his own room were a promise to send a messenger after me in the morning if he should hear of any Mewatties being abroad.

13*th December*.—At daybreak this morning I felt my bearers raising my palanquin to put it on their shoulders, and heard the great gate open for us to pass out. General De Boigne's escort of cavalry turned to the right to regain the top of the street, and my party took the opposite direction, nearly east, by the indigo works, exactly the road I supposed that the Pindarries had taken.

At sunrise I mounted my horse. We had already lost sight of Jellowllee, and with it all sign of human existence, excepting the slight perpetual curve traced over the sand by travellers or banditti, who had preceded us. A small cloud upon the plain, increasing as it advanced towards us, or the appearance of the promised messenger from Mr. Longcroft, would have announced

to us the approach of Pindarries, Mewatties, or Goujers, but we saw nothing.

We had thus completed about twelve miles, and just reached the borders of the Callinuddy, or Calinaxis of the Greeks, when one of my escort discovered an hircarrah, or messenger, running after us from Jellowllee. I turned, and could also see a man coming over the ridge we had passed. Upon his gaining the declivity which led down to the river, it was evident that he was holding up his hand as a signal for us to stop. I, however, hastened the people across the stream, and desired them to place the two palanquins, the moonshy's and mine, along the bank opposite the ford. The greatest difficulty was in getting the doombah over, his bedstead having been left behind. It was necessary for the men to take him up in their arms and carry him across. The passage, however, of everything was soon effected, and it seemed fortunate that, in case of attack, our position was particularly favourable, the opposite bank being much the highest, and the palanquins forming a parapet behind which the sepoys could load and fire to advantage.

The messenger was now approaching down the side of the valley, with a letter in his hand. I remained on horseback on the right bank till he arrived, when he told me that he was sent by Longcroft Sahib with a note. On receiving it from him, I found it to be as follows :—

Dear Sir—You will excuse my particularity while I request the favour of your name; for on reading over again this morning the note of introduction General De Boigne sent to me, I feel inclined to believe he has, by mistake, spelt Tivening, instead of Twining. The circumstance of your having been but three years in India strengthens my conjecture. Should I be right, I shall have to lament the accident which deprived me of the pleasure of your company, and the particular conversation which such an opportunity offered. Should you be the person I suspect, you must be well acquainted with Mr. Powell in England, who is a near relation of mine.

Do me the kindness to relieve me from suspense by returning the hircarrah without delay. . . . I am, dear Sir, your obedient humble Servant, Thomas Longcroft.

Jellowllee, 13*th December* 1794.

Great indeed was my surprise! I immediately passed over to the other side of the river, and wrote, on the top of my palanquin, a few lines to my discovered kinsman, expressing my deep regret that this extraordinary fact of a relationship between us had not become known during the pleasant hours I had passed in his company the preceding evening. I also expressed my sense of the kind reception he had given me, and my desire to commence a correspondence with him on my return to Santipore. I felt a desire to return to Jellowllee, but the time fixed for my being at Futtighur was already very nearly expired, and I was unwilling to keep the sepoys of the Governor of Dehli much beyond the term I had mentioned as the limit of their absence on receiving them. Mr. Longcroft's messenger therefore returned up his side of the valley, while I mounted the other, my mind most deeply occupied with the singular adventure that had just occurred.

That Mr. Longcroft and I should have passed a whole evening together without discovering the near connection that existed between us was, indeed, extraordinary. How many circumstances, the mention of how many persons and places, would have revealed us to each other. Had I but asked him the common question on such occasions—what part of England he was from—or had he addressed the same inquiry to me, the mention of Colchester or Isleworth would most probably have led to a disclosure. It was also somewhat surprising that, knowing his guest was attached to the civil service of the East India Company, he did not ask him if he was acquainted with a fellow-servant of the name of Twining. It was also singular that before leaving England I should never have heard his name mentioned, although I had seen several of his family and friends before my departure, particularly his nephew, Mr. Powell, of Bitteswell; his sister, Mrs. Smythies, of Colchester; and my uncle Thomas, and the Millses, of the same place.

I heard in India the following account of Mr. Longcroft's going to that country, and of his establishing himself there.

His family resided at a small village on the banks of the Thames, near Kew, and only two or three miles from Isleworth, and were the neighbours and friends there of the celebrated painter Zoffany. Thomas Longcroft also was fond of painting, and hence arose a particular intimacy between Zoffany and himself. The great painter being about to try his fortune in Bengal, said one day to his young friend, "Tom, will you go with me to India?" My namesake liked the proposal, *did* accompany Zoffany to Calcutta, and afterwards to Lucnow, where the court of the Nabob, Asuph ul Dowlah, was then in all its splendour. Zoffany was patronised and employed, and, doubtless, liberally rewarded, by this munificent friend of artists and the arts. He painted for him a celebrated picture, in which His Highness is represented at a cock-fight, accompanied by his court, and by Zoffany himself. Whether the latter had the delicacy or the opportunity to pay a compliment to his young friend on this occasion, I do not know, though I well know the picture, and many of the portraits it contains.

But the brilliancy of the capital of Oude, and the unshared distinctions of Zoffany, did not improve the fortune nor dissipate the cares of young Longcroft. Of a mind naturally, perhaps, sensitive and independent, he was mortified to find that he was considered the inferior, rather than the companion, of Zoffany—his dependant, rather than his friend. A separation was the consequence.

At this time the manufacture of indigo was becoming an object of general and extensive speculation in India. It attracted the attention of Thomas Longcroft, and determined his future pursuit. He quitted Lucnow, crossed the Ganges, and near a small defenceless village, in the midst of desert plains and tribes of robbers, established himself in the fortified habitation to which so singular a combination of circumstances afterwards conducted me. What could lead such a man—a man of respectable connections, of genius, taste, and elegant acquirements—to bury himself in so cheerless a solitude is a question I

am unable to answer, but it probably was the abundance and cheapness of land in that thinly-peopled country, and the prospect which an extensive cultivation seemed to afford him, of an early return to the bosom of his family, and to the charms of his native Thames—a dream, alas! never to be realised, for he ended his days in the desert; without a friend to receive his last wishes—without a Christian hand to consign him to the earth, or a tree to shade his grave.

It was near twelve o'clock before we concluded this eventful morning's march. Coming then to a small serai, I halted a short time to relieve my people, and gain information about the state of the road before us. It had seemed probable that as we advanced towards the east and south, the insecurity of the country would diminish. This was far from being the case. There was less danger, probably, from the predatory parties of horse, although it was difficult to know the limits of their incursions. The Ganges, indeed, formed a boundary which it would be hazardous and difficult to pass; the whole country between the Jumna and Ganges was considered as open to their attacks, or rather perhaps incursions, and as the common field of their depredations.

But our attention was now called to another circumstance. We approached a country inhabited by tribes of Rohillahs, a people susceptible and fierce at all times, but now excited by the defeat of their armies by the troops of Sir Robert Abercromby, by the conquest of a great part of their country, and the expulsion of their favourite prince from his throne. It was hardly to be expected that, at such a moment, they would see an English traveller with feelings of good will. It occurred to me to march straight to the Ganges, and there embark; but it appeared that the Rohillahs were strong in that direction also. A safer digression was offered by striking across the plains to the south-west in order to gain the road by which I had gone to Agra. This, however, would have carried us very far out of the direct line, and across a trackless country, to the great fatigue of my people.

These, however, particularly such as were natives of Dehli, held the Rohillahs, who had sacked their capital and outraged their sovereign, in such dread, or aversion rather, that I should probably have adopted this course, as the most prudent one, if the state of my finances had not opposed a barrier to so wide a deviation. My stay at Dehli, my considerable expenses there, my costly presentation to the Emperor, and the curiosities I had purchased, had exhausted the supply I had received from Padre Juvenal, and even made it necessary to borrow a small sum from Sind Razy Khan, of which there now remained barely enough to carry us to the end of our journey by the nearest road.

These considerations left me scarcely any alternative but that of continuing our present line of march, adopting such precautions as particular circumstances should suggest, such as avoiding the doubtful villages as much as possible, remaining but a short time in them; keeping together, whether marching or halting; our arms ready, but relying less upon them than upon a conciliatory intercourse with the people. It would have been easy for me to pass for a native of the country, but I always felt a repugnance to this mode of protection, and never concealed my real character but once, upon the sudden appearance of the Goujers near Dehli. It is true, the shawl in which I was wrapped gave me in some degree the appearance of a native of India of rank, but I wore it for its convenience and for the propriety of conforming to the customary dress of the country, and not as a disguise.

Continuing our march after a short halt, we followed, where it was visible, the usual winding, faintly-traced line across the plain, till we came to a small village. There being no serai to receive us, I stopped at the hermitage of a faquir, who welcomed me with great civility. Surrounded as we were by enemies, we could not be better than under this sacred person's protection. He told me that the war in Rohilcund had made a great impression amongst the Rohillahs of that part of the country, and advised me not to stop till I got to a village called

Cossgunge, although it was at a considerable distance. A principal inhabitant of the village came to see me, and described in similar terms the irritation prevailing amongst the Rohillahs, and gave me the same advice. They further cautioned me in respect to the road I was about to take the following day.

Leaving with regret these friendly men, I moved forward again in the afternoon. Soon after dark we found ourselves near another small village, where we should all have been glad to pass the night, having already had a long day's march; but wishing to follow the old hermit's advice, not to stop before we reached Cossgunge, I prevailed upon my people to proceed. The night, however, being cloudy and dark, it was not easy to find our way, the slight track which formed our only guide over the sand becoming scarcely discernible. At last, after a march longer and more tedious than usual, the walls of a town appeared before us. We hailed it as the desired resting-place which the old man had recommended. Lest so many armed men at such an hour should excite uneasiness, I halted and sent a messenger to knock at the gate, and to say that a traveller from Dehli, with escorts from the Governor of that city and from General De Boigne, desired lodging in the serai for the night. In case of refusal, it would be necessary to solicit a supply of provisions and firing, and remain upon the plain. The clouds, however, which had obscured our way threatened a heavy storm, and we therefore anxiously hoped for admittance.

After waiting in suspense some time, we were told that the gates would be opened, and we soon after marched in, and proceeded to the serai, where I took possession of a small chamber, lighted by a little iron lamp suspended from the mud wall, and for which I procured oil from the bazaar. I feel fatigued and unwell. No medicines with me.

My people had scarcely done cooking their supper and mine in the middle of the serai before it began to rain very hard, and they were obliged to disperse hastily, and take refuge in the small rooms which surrounded the square. One of these,

fortunately, was large enough to admit my palanquin. Although the inhabitants seemed to justify the favourable opinion of the old faquir, we kept watch, and slept with our arms by our side. I procured here another bedstead for the great sheep, and men to carry it.

14*th December*.—Our departure this morning was delayed by the continuance of the rain. When this had ceased we began our march over a flat country, on which, however, there was more cultivation than usual. Some spots were planted with indigo, from which I inferred that there must be some indigo factory in the neighbourhood.

At twelve, after a long march, reached Dandarahgunge, a considerable village. The weather being still very rainy, I intended stopping here the rest of the day ; but it being market-day, I found the serai full of people, who assembled about us. As there were undoubtedly many Rohillahs amongst them, I was afraid of a collision with my sepoys, whom a word or look of intended or suspected insult would at once offend. As soon, therefore, as I had purchased a sort of coarse blanket to put over the sheep, I gave orders for marching, although the distance to the next halting-place was sixteen miles.

The country we passed over this afternoon was different from any I had yet seen, it having a rude, highlandish appearance that reminded me of some parts of the country I had travelled over with my father in Scotland. From some high ground about the middle of the stage I had a fine view of the snow on the Himmaleh mountains.

We at length supposed ourselves to be near Patthiary after another long day's march, the greater part of it under a heavy fall of rain. The walls were soon visible, but as we advanced towards them we perceived a party of horse coming towards us, whether to ascertain who we were, or to interdict our approach, was uncertain. We soon met, when I found that the chief was the Tonjdar or head police-officer of the place, going out to take his evening ride. I made a salaam to him as we were passing,

and stopped. He stopped also, when I expressed the pleasure I had in meeting him, since I meant to pass the night in his town, and should be obliged by his good offices. I said that I knew there were many Rohillahs in Patthiary, but that having met him, the Tonjdar, I should have no hesitation in stopping there.

He assured me I might reckon upon his protection, and upon any assistance he could afford us, but still he begged me not to go to the serai, but to his cutcherry, or office. Accordingly, on entering the town, I proceeded immediately to the latter place, and alighted in a large court belonging to it. Adjoining to this was a smaller one, long and narrow, with a terrace about three feet high at the extremity. Upon this elevation I placed my chair and table, and the sepoys brought their spears and matchlocks, that they might not be seized while they were at their supper. The solicitude which these brave men always showed to have their arms near was no sign of fear, but of their determination to make a good use of them—*Da soldato morir coll' arme in mani.*

Sentinels were also placed at the door, both of the outer and inner court. The latter, in case of attack, could be defended against superior numbers, the entrance into it being narrow, and the whole of it being commanded by the terrace, which itself afforded a last and defensible retreat. I perceived, indeed, two or three small windows which looked down upon us, and which therefore seemed to weaken our position considerably, but they belonged apparently to the buildings of the Tonjdarry, whilst it was in front, from the Rohillahs of the town, that attack was to be expected. Upon the whole, without placing entire confidence in the professions or influence of the person we had met, our situation was as satisfactory as we could desire. I did not, however, think it prudent to suffer my people to go, or to go myself, into the town, but allowed only two or three to go to the bazaar to buy rice, cooking-vessels, etc., for all. While my rice was being boiled, I sat down at my table to write,

with my pistols placed upon it and my gun in the corner behind me.

I was thus noting down the occurrences of the day, as I generally did every evening, when I perceived a stranger advancing towards me. When distant a few paces he put his hand to his girdle, and drew out a pistol. I seized one of my own. The man in his turn seemed surprised, and protested his innocence, but I kept my pistol pointed towards him, till he deposited his on the edge of the terrace. The explanation he then gave of his intrusion was, that his pistol, which was of foreign construction, being out of order, hearing that a foreign traveller had stopped in the town, he had taken that opportunity of endeavouring to get it repaired. I took up the pistol and examined it. It was not charged, and appeared scarcely capable of being used. I therefore begged my visitor to sit down, while I looked at it more particularly.

It was a neat, large-sized pocket-pistol, of European make, but of what country did not appear. I unscrewed it, and repaired it as well as I could, but without having the satisfaction of remedying all its defects. Its owner, whom I had at first taken for a Rohillah assassin, was a very intelligent, respectable man. He gave me much interesting information, and many useful hints about the road I was to take the next day. Upon my saying that I intended passing through Mow, that being the direct road, he observed that we should certainly be cut off by the Rohillahs and Patans, who inhabited that town and the surrounding country, and advised me to make a sweep to the west or south-west, and gain a village called Ally-Gunge. Indeed it appeared to me that we were getting too much amongst a hostile people on our present road, and that a deviation to the west was advisable. The information which the moonshy obtained confirmed the expediency of this change, as it did the avowal of the Tonjdar, that our situation would not have been safe in the serai. All my people slept in the inner court; some of them stretched themselves on the terrace.

The night passed without anything particular, but I still had reason to consider my meeting the magistrate in his ride the preceding evening as another of the providential incidents of my journey.

15*th December*.—We moved out of Patthiary a little before daylight, and after passing the usual small band of cultivation which encircled every town or village, entered upon a wide sandy plain. Keeping to the south-west, thus leaving the direct road considerably to our left, we marched for Ally-Gunge, as laid down in my map, but found it misplaced by Rennell, and did not reach it till four in the afternoon, after a very fatiguing course of twenty miles. I found it to answer the description I had received of it the evening before. It was a large and safe village, with a pretty good serai, in which we fixed our quarters for the rest of the day, we being now only a day's journey from Furruckabad. A little before sunset I walked with the moonshy and a few of my people to see the tomb of Khojah Khan Behader, an eunuch, situated in a grove near the village. Both it and the terrace were built of brick covered with chunam. White cloths were spread over it. Some inhabitants of the village, who accompanied us, informing me that the history of the Khojah was singular, I desired the moonshy to collect the particulars of it in the evening, which he did, and inserted them in his journal, of which I may subjoin a translation at the end of my own narrative.

16*th December*.—The next morning we marched to a village three coss, and thence to Newab-Gunge, ten coss, or twenty miles farther, where we halted. We had now passed all the country that offered any particular insecurity. We had reached soundings; port was before us; and we got under weigh at an early hour in the afternoon for the chance of entering it that night. But it was nine o'clock before we reached the gates of Furruckabad, the city from which I had procured my armed men, hackery, bullocks, etc., before setting out for Agra. As it was now too late to go on to Futtighur, we passed

through several streets to the serai, where we stopped for the night.

The next morning, 17th December, I mounted my horse for the last time, and after passing the ravines which I had so often crossed before the commencement of my journey, saw again the cantonments of Futtighur, the point from which I had set out. I went immediately to my budgerow, where my reappearance caused great satisfaction. Many and cordial were the greetings and inquiries on both sides. I was glad to find that the boatmen sent back from Agra, with the tent, had arrived safe, as also the Muttra division, including the cook's wife, and also, I took it for granted, her little bull, though what became of this beautiful animal I never heard.

Here then, again, I acknowledged, as I felt, the providential protection which had been extended to myself and my companions during a journey which few European travellers had undertaken, since the days of Bernier and Tavernier, in the time of Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe, and whose footsteps I often seemed to trace, though separated from them by the interval—*longo intervallo*—of nearly 150 years.

As the fatigue and privations of my people, borne too, as they were, with a courage and patience of which no country, I believe, could produce a more perfect example, had been my chief care, in the toilsome days, and sleepless nights, we had spent together; so I now shared, with a sympathy no less cordial, the ample recompense they seemed to derive, partly from having seen so much, and partly from the consequence they enjoyed, in the sight of their friends and countrymen—and also, it was probable, in their own.

My little charger, too, had performed his laborious share in the campaign in an extraordinary manner. His vigour never failed, and yet he was seldom under cover, night or day, and seldom lay down but on the bare ground, or on a little scattered grass, taken from his precarious meal. Even the great Cabul sheep, which I sometimes thought would never reach the

Ganges, arrived in good health, and was led on board the horse-boat, where a convenient place was made for it.

My notes stop here. My moonshy's journal describes the journey by boat to Cawnpore, but without recording anything that need be quoted, save that I proceeded to the house of Mr. Rider.

At the open breakfast-table of my hospitable friend, Mr. *Paymaster* Rider, as my moonshy calls him, I met many very agreeable officers of the station, and received many congratulations on the successful issue of my journey. No one showed more curiosity and interest on this occasion than Dr. Robert Lowe, an accomplished and pleasing young man, attached to the medical department at Cawnpore.

After some deliberation as to my future plan—whether to embark and descend the Ganges at once, or extend my journey —I decided upon the latter: to visit Lucnow, the capital of Oude, and the eastern part of that kingdom, and to invite Dr. Lowe to accompany me to Chunar, to which place I proposed sending on my boats. Mr. Lowe received my proposal with much satisfaction, and had no difficulty in obtaining the necessary leave of absence from the commanding officer of the station.

The country I was about to pass through admitting of more attention to comfort in my mode of travelling, I made purchases mentioned in my moonshy's journal. I bought a tent, a camel to carry it, and two bullocks (not *bulls* as the moonshy says) to carry our baggage and stores; and to my collection of productions of the northern provinces, I added a young monkey of a small and familiar breed. No regular guard being necessary, I merely hired a few armed peons, or common men, in addition to my own servants.

On the 2nd January (1795) I sent off my budgerow and horse-boat for Chunar, there to await my arrival. In the afternoon of the same day, Dr. Lowe and I, the moonshy, my little horse, the camel and bullocks, with the tent and stores, our

three palanquins and bearers, and all the servants who had accompanied me in my former expedition, passed over to the eastern side of the Ganges in a large flat-bottomed boat. Although the river here was still deep, it was far from being the noble, broad stream I had left it at the conclusion of the rains. But it was still a fine river, and was still the Ganges.

Our direction on leaving the ghaut, or landing-place, was nearly due east. The camel, bearing the tent packed high on his back, and the sewal, or driver, elevated upon *it*, with the monkey behind him, or sometimes on his shoulder, the whole of this burden moving backwards and forwards to the long measured step of the animal, offered a new and most picturesque object in my present line of march. There was a contrast between the old and our present line in other respects—in the bullocks, with their load slung across them; in the absence of numerous spears and matchlocks; and in the general relaxation of order and precaution. My great brass pistols were no longer in my holsters; my curved tulwar no longer at my side. The road, however, was not held to be perfectly safe by common travellers, but my men, who had passed through bands of Mewatties and Goujers, disdained the attacks of thieves and robbers.

The country offered a contrast no less striking, being well cultivated, and, presenting numerous villages, intermixed with topes, or groves, of the luxuriant and luxurious mangoe-tree, which I had great pleasure in seeing again. Although the surface was flat, the road winded considerably, owing apparently to the number of nullahs which flow from the chain of hills north of Oude and join the Ganges in this part of its course. We crossed many of these periodical mountain streams, or rather their beds, for most of them were now dry. After a pleasant commencement of our journey, we arrived at eight o'clock at Miswassy, when we unloaded the camel, and pitched the tent, drank tea, and passed the night.

3*rd January.*—Some of my servants, who had been detained

at Cawnpore, not having arrived, we deferred our departure this morning till an hour and a half after sunrise. This enabled us to see more of the cheerful village of Miswassy than we had been able to do the preceding evening. It is situated on the sides of two small hills, and in the interval which separates them. But the beauty of the country increases as we advance. We pass the ruins of a considerable village called Annow, the approach to which is particularly picturesque, the gently rising ground on the right being covered with wood, while two or three old temples appear on the other side, shadowed by lofty trees.

We afterwards passed through an extensive but shallow jeel, or lake, in the middle of which the camel with his full cargo chose to lie down. The sewal was very angry. He was a singular, surly old fellow, with a thick long beard, and much bent, either by age or camel-riding. I rather supposed by the latter, having observed that the camel-drivers yielding, as it seemed, to the rough motion of their beasts, generally sat in a bent posture. He jerked the cord fastened to the camel's nose, and beat him with his great stick, but was finally obliged to get down in the water and then renew his attacks before the animal would rise, when he led him through the rest of the lake, the monkey occupying his seat on the top of the tent.

Two coss farther we halted near a small village called Rumgunge, pitched the tent, and stopped for the rest of the day.

4th January.—Leave Rumgunge at daybreak, and soon after pass close to a very extensive jeel, on the edge of which is seen a pretty village.

The lake, with the village on one side, and the other, beautifully lined with wood, presented one of the most pleasing water-scenes I had seen in India, where such scenery seldom occurs. Pass through Moatgunge, where there appears to be a considerable manufactory of brass pots and other domestic utensils. Adjoining to this village is Ticketgunge, a large bazaar surrounded by a high brick wall plastered over with white

chunam. At each of the four angles of the place is a handsome pavilion. This bazaar was probably established by Ticket Roy, one of the Nabob's principal ministers, whom I had met with His Highness at Dalmow, where he used to be conspicuous in the evening elephant parties. He was said to be very rich, and to have long been in great favour with the Nabob, the first source probably of his wealth, as *this* was now, as probably, of his great influence, although the wealth of the favourites of eastern princes generally proves a fatal possession in the end.

Crossed a good bridge of three arches, and pitched the tent by the side of a few mangoe trees, near a small village, of which my notes do not mention the name. Two officers of the Company's service, Lieutenants Deveron and Shipton, happening to stop at the same place, we invited them to dine with us. Lieutenant Shipton, who belonged to the artillery, served under Sir Robert Abercromby in the late engagement with the Rohillahs, and entertained us with many interesting particulars of that action.

5*th*.—The tent, being struck at daybreak, was put upon the camel. I now had a good opportunity of observing the character and ways of this remarkable animal. While being loaded, he rests upon his legs bent under him, and on his belly, and it seems to be one of the obvious provisions of nature to secure his utility, that he can, like the elephant, place himself in this position for the purpose of being loaded without rolling over on one side, as a horse would do. The position is not easy to either animal, and both are accordingly inclined to rise before their charge is completed. In respect to the elephant, the mahout prevents this by pressing a pointed iron upon the top of his head when he attempts to rise too soon. In the camel this premature rising is prevented as effectually, and more humanely, by merely tying a cord round the two parts of the fore-leg, when these are doubled together. When the loading is completed, and the cord untied, he rises under his heavy burden with a great effort.

His pace is a long measured walk: he never exceeds this: never goes into a *trot;* though there is a smaller species, commonly called the running camel, that trots or *runs* at a quick pace, and is employed in some parts of Hindostan in carrying despatches. The price of my camel was about £25. The story of their taking in a supply of water, which serves them for some time, is not a fabulous tale, though the manner in which this singular operation is effected is not exactly as commonly represented. It appears that what the camel drinks, or at least a part of it, passes into a bladder, or skin resembling a bladder, placed somewhere about the neck, and that, when thirsty, he raises this reservoir into the mouth, with a peculiar gurgling noise, the bottom part of the bladder now becoming the highest, and even protruding beyond one side of his mouth. In this position the water it contains flows into the camel's throat. I have often witnessed this operation, which indeed takes place repeatedly in the course of the day. The protrusion of the red fleshy bladder beyond the jaws is by no means a pleasing sight.

The use of camels is confined principally to the northern and western parts of Hindostan. They are not used nor seen in Bengal. The air there is said not to agree with them; but the slippery state of the ground there, in the rainy season, is alone sufficient to account for their exclusion from that part of India. On such ground the hind-feet slip outwards with such force that the belly is split in two, and the poor animal dies. I have heard that many of the camels of Lord Cornwallis's army in the Mysore war perished in this manner. To prevent these fatal accidents, it is usual when the country is slippery to tie their hind-legs loosely together, so as to prevent their too great distension.[1]

The camel, though apparently a gentle animal, is generally much otherwise. It is commonly unsafe for any one but his

[1] For the reasons here stated, I have doubted the accuracy of the account which says that, after the battle of Plassey, the Nabob left the field on a camel; I think an elephant more probable.

driver to approach him. My old man often gave me a caution in this respect. His bite is said to be very severe. His walk is extremely rough, as was manifest from the great jerk with which my driver on the top of the load was moved backwards and forwards. This motion is said to be so injurious to the health of the camel-driver as to shorten his life considerably.

Our journey so far had been over a fine plain, fertilised by numerous streams, and diversified by extensive jeels and groves of mangoe trees; it seemed to want nothing but population, the true riches of a country, and one of the best signs of the excellence of its government. It seemed singular, that this morning, when drawing nigh the capital, there should be a change for the worse, the road passing over a dreary waste to Vizier Gunge, formerly, as we judged, a place of some strength, for we entered it through ruined gateways, once evidently vast and substantial, now only picturesque. When approaching Lucnow, we passed near, and sometimes through, a lately-planted avenue of neem trees. On entering the gates, we passed entirely through the city, till we came to the ground at the opposite end occupied by the battalion of the Company's troops usually detached from Cawnpore for the service of the Nabob. The length of the city in this direction was about five miles. The streets all this way were narrow and dirty, and crowded with bazaars, and poor people, presenting, upon the whole, an air of wretchedness that much disappointed the expectations I had formed of the splendour of this celebrated capital. It was evident that this splendour was confined to the palace, while misery pervaded the streets: the true image of despotism. We breakfasted with Dr. Tossuck, a friend of Dr. Lowe, and afterwards went to the quarters of Captain Bailey. Both these gentlemen belonged to the battalion now on duty at Lucnow.

In the afternoon we were introduced to Colonel Martin, an officer who had acquired considerable celebrity in this part of India. He is a native of Lyons in France, but has long resided at Lucnow, where he has a command in the Nabob's army.

Though not ostensibly so, he may, I believe, be considered His Highness's chief military counsellor, as well as his adviser in political affairs.

We found him in a large and elegant mansion, lately built by himself, on the banks of the Goomty, the river which flows by Lucnow. The house had the appearance of a fortified castle, and was indeed constructed with a view to defence, with draw-bridges, loop-holes, and turrets, and water, when desired, all round.

The Colonel was extremely civil, and conducted us through the principal parts of his singular building. The most handsome room was one which he had constructed over the river itself, the exterior wall resting upon pillars, placed nearly in the middle of the Goomty, whose stream thus flowed through his house. The Colonel being a very ingenious man, and possessing the insinuating manners of his country, had long been in favour with the reigning princes of Oude. Although, therefore, he had not been such a warrior and conqueror of states as his neighbour,[1] General De Boigne, there seemed to be nothing improbable in the reports which prevailed as to the extent of his private fortune. He concluded a most polite reception by inviting us to see another mansion he was then completing, a few miles from Lucnow.

I dined to-day with Mr. Orr, an English merchant, and met a large party of English gentlemen, amongst whom was Dr. James Laird, brother of the head physician who had accompanied Sir Robert Abercromby from Calcutta. There were also Mr. Paul, and Mr. and Mrs. Arnot. Mrs. Arnot enjoyed the distinction of being the handsomest lady in India. She was related to Miss Grier of London, with whom my family were intimate. I sat next to Mrs. Arnot at dinner, and had much conversation with her about Miss Grier, whom I had seen before leaving England. The style in which this remote colony lived was

[1] Neighbour *in Europe*. Seen from India, Chambéry and Lyons seem to touch.

surprising, it far exceeding even the expense and luxuriousness of Calcutta. As it was the custom of these families to dine alternately with each other, they had established a numerous band of musicians, who played during dinner. I had singular pleasure on hearing some old English and Scotch airs played extremely well. The traveller cannot have much music in his soul who is not moved with the concord of sweet sounds which remind him of his native country.

6*th.*—Move to the tent, pitched near some mangoe trees, a quarter of a mile to the east of the city. I dined to-day to the sound of the same pleasing music, with Dr. James Laird and his lady, meeting, as before, Mr. and Mrs. Arnot, Mr. Orr, Mr. Pringle, and nearly all the European society.

7*th.*—Before breakfast this morning I rode with Dr. Lowe to see Colonel Martin's other residence, to which he has given the name of Constantia. It is a palace on a very extensive scale, but in which the singularity of the Colonel's taste is chiefly discernible. It had not yet been inhabited, the upper part of it not being completed. Under the principal apartment are subterraneous rooms, intended for the hot season. This plan of living underground during the hot months being quite experimental, it would perhaps have been more reasonable to make the trial on a less expensive scale. The heat and smoke and smell, arising from the number of lamps necessary to light the dark chambers and passages, seemed alone sufficient to render the success of the scheme more than doubtful. In the middle of the largest of these dark rooms the Colonel had already raised his tomb, and the number of lights to be burned there, night and day, *for ever*, and the sum to be allotted for this purpose, were already mentioned, but it was not said what was to be the state and distinction of the immense structure above when its eccentric founder should have taken possession of his narrow chamber below.

After breakfast we went in our palanquins to see the palace of the Nabob and other royal buildings. The Nabob himself

was still absent from Lucnow, having with him more than a hundred of the many hundred ladies of his seraglio, and many thousand pigeons, a fact which left no surprise that His Highness should have been so far in the rear when the army of Sir Robert Abercromby fought the Rohillahs. The pigeon is a sacred bird with the Mussulmen, from the story of its having been the bearer of some of the communications of Mahomet. I regretted the Nabob's absence, as I had reason to believe that the acquaintance made with him at Dalmow, where I had always one of his elephants at my disposal, would have procured me further attentions now, particularly after the important service which Sir Robert Abercromby had since rendered him. In polished and agreeable manners, in public magnificence, in private generosity, and also, it must be allowed, in wasteful profusion, Asoph ul Dowlah, King of Oude, might probably be compared with the most splendid sovereigns of Europe.

The buildings composing the royal residence were on an extensive scale, but were seen to disadvantage after the nobler structures of Agra and Dehli. The most handsome were the Imaumbary, or sepulchre, of the reigning family, and the royal Musjid; the most curious was the Inah Khanah, containing English objects of all kinds—watches, pistols, guns, glassware, furniture, philosophical machines, all crowded together with the confusion of a lumber room. The number of clocks and watches was quite extraordinary. Many of them were very beautiful, and were said to have cost the Nabob immense sums. All were placed without regard to order or reference to their qualities or value. A valuable chronometer, or one which had been sold as such, would be suspended next to a common watch of the most ordinary description; and which, indeed, had possibly cost the Nabob as much as the chronometer. Both toys, having equally amused and deluded the Nabob for a few minutes, were consigned to this cabinet never perhaps to be seen again. From the ceilings were suspended more than a thousand glass lustres of the most costly description, while a much larger number of

wall- and table-shades were scattered on tables about the rooms. One clock was said to have cost the Vizier a lac of rupees, or upwards of £10,000. The commonest clock would have been as much prized if it had cost the same sum. The amount said to be annually expended on these purchases would exceed belief, if the extreme childishness of the Nabob in things of this sort, and the boundless imposition of the venders, were not notorious. Indeed, it was impossible to see without pain and shame the evidence which the Inah Khanah alone afforded of the weakness and extravagance of the Vizier, and of the dishonourable cupidity and deception with which this injurious dissipation was encouraged principally by British subjects at the expense of the poor inhabitants of Oude. It seemed surprising that the British Resident at the Court of Lucnow did not interfere, as a friend, to prevent his later interference as an enemy; that he did not state to the Nabob that such improvident expenditure might embarrass his finances, and thus, causing delay in the payment of the instalments to the Company's troops at Cawnpore and Futtighur, afford a pretext for taking possession of his kingdom, or of a part of it. But a proceeding so ambitious and violent was as yet, probably, as little in the premeditation of the present Government of Calcutta as of the Nabob, though realised soon after under another administration.

In one of the courts of the palace I saw a small collection of wild animals. There was a tiger of extraordinary size confined in a square wooden cage, which appeared rather clumsy than strong. The top was very low, merely leaving room enough for the tiger to stand without touching it. Upon my expressing my surprise at this, the keeper said that if the top was higher the tiger would spring against it with such force as to be likely to break it, or force it up, whereas, at present, he had not room to take his spring.

I also saw two wild buffaloes, the only ones I had seen in India excepting the herd which I had passed in my journey from Santipore to Guttaul. I was struck as before with the size

and strength, and apparent agility of these animals, and comparing their powers with those of the tiger who was near, I had no difficulty in conceiving their superiority over the latter. There were also two large rhinoceroses, animals less common in this part of India than in the forests and extensive jungles of Bengal, particularly in the vicinity of the Burrumpooter. An officer once descending that river saw before him a line of rhinoceroses extending entirely across the stream and into the forest on each side. They formed a dam across the river, and the officer was obliged to stop his boat till they had passed. Lastly, I saw, not far from the wild animals, a tame one, a countryman too, which in size apparently surpassed them all. It was a large English dray-horse. Being kept as a curiosity for his extraordinary bulk, he was fed unsparingly, and had, in consequence, become enormously fat and unwieldy. It appeared too that he was as much confined as the other great animals I had just seen. It was not surprising that his natural perfections—his beauty, symmetry, vigour—should be all quite lost. Two other horses of the same large species, which had accompanied him from England, had lately died, most probably from their extreme obesity and want of exercise: a fate which seemed to await this also in the ensuing hot season. These horses were said to have cost the deluded Vizier an immense sum.

I understand that the Nabob had nearly a thousand elephants, and about the same number of saddle-horses. As the greater part of both had accompanied His Royal Highness to the field, I did not visit the royal stables.

On passing and repassing through the streets I observed the same wretchedness as before. There must be much that is "rotten in the state," whose chief city, the residence of the sovereign, presents such an appearance. Many of the defects of the system which governed Oude were visible without research, and research would doubtless discover more. It happened that, some years after, I had the honour of being selected by Lord Wellesley to make a report on the statistical system of the Nabob's

government. Although the state of my health prevented my completing this inquiry, I collected much interesting information on the subject.

Although I had now seen the usual objects of curiosity, I remained at Lucnow a few mornings more for the sake of looking over specimens of the productions of Oude and the adjoining countries. I dined and passed the evenings with the brilliant English circle, whose band continued to afford me undiminished pleasure, and their luxury increased surprise.

The climate of Lucnow at this time was very pleasant. The English houses had fires in the evening. But the heat of the hot months was said to be very great, and to be aggravated by clouds of dust from the banks, and nearly dry bed, of the Goomty.

14*th January.*—On the 14th, at 1 P.M., I resumed my journey, accompanied by Dr. Lowe, but no longer by the moonshy. The latter came into the tent one morning with a countenance less cheerful than usual, and after a short preliminary speech, in which he expressed his respect and attachment, said that he did not find himself so well as at Dehli, and that he feared the *nemuka hauer o panee*, the salt air and water, of Bengal would not agree with him. He proposed, therefore, with my permission, to return to Futtighur, and there wait for the opportunity of some caravan for regaining Shah Jehanabad (Dehli). I, of course, assented to his proposal. Indeed, I was not without apprehension myself that the climate of Bengal would not suit him. It was very apt to disagree with the inhabitants of the northern countries, who hold it consequently in considerable dread. Still, this separation from the moonshy caused me much regret. He was an intelligent and amiable man, a good Persian and Hindostanee scholar, and a pretty good poet. His attainments, pleasing manners, and interesting conversation were extremely agreeable to me, and had proved an invaluable resource in the solitary hours of my journey from Dehli. When I was lying down after the fatigue of the

morning's march, or was sitting alone in the evening in the small mud room of a serai, he would come and read some of the verses of Hafiz to me, or, at my desire, recite some of his own effusions.

We crossed the *winding* Goomty, as its name implies. Its serpentine course is here ornamented with groves of mangoe trees, which render it as picturesque as the perfect flatness of the country will permit. We proceeded over a highly-cultivated plain, sometimes riding, sometimes on foot, to Nabobgunge, having passed during the afternoon two bridges. Finding that the Nabob had one of his sixteen palaces here, I felt that I should only be complying with His Royal Highness's wishes, could he have expressed them, in going to it. The officer in charge received us with all possible attention, and allotted us most comfortable apartments, a great convenience, as it saved us the trouble of unpacking and setting up the tent. Our people, too, found abundance of good accommodation, and were well taken care of by the servants of the Nabob. We drank tea, and passed the evening very pleasantly.

15*th*.—Notwithstanding the excellence of our night's lodging, we began our march this morning two hours before daybreak. After travelling through as thick a fog as I had ever seen in Scotland, we arrived at a small village, distant ten miles from Nabobgunge, and halted to breakfast. We were now journeying nearly due east, for the purpose of seeing the ancient city of Fyzabad, and were thus to the north, or left, of the direct line from Lucnow to Benares, which runs nearly south-east. At twelve o'clock, the mist being dispersed, I sent forward the camel with the tent and also the bullocks, we ourselves remaining under a fine tree. We dined here, and in the afternoon moved on, and overtook the advanced party, towards the close of the evening, at a small village, where we had the tent pitched, and remained for the night.

16*th*.—Struck the tent at half-past four, loaded the camels and bullocks, and at a little after five left our ground. The

morning being cold, we walked a few miles, but at length a heavy shower drove us into our palanquins. Passed soon after Diriabad, a shabby straggling village. Coming upon an extensive, well-cultivated plain we mounted our horses, but were again overtaken by a very heavy fall of rain, which completely wet us through before we could reach the nearest grove. Our palanquins coming up we got into them, and the rain abating we proceeded to a serai, where we breakfasted, and afterwards stopped to dine, the serai being a good one, and the weather still very threatening.

Early in the afternoon I sent on the camel and bullocks, and an hour before sunset we mounted our horses and followed them. Our regular stopping-place was Mahomed-pore, but having already come many coss, and the people being wet, I ordered the camel-driver to halt at Begumgunge. This accidental change proved fortunate, for we found here a bungalow belonging to one of the princesses of Oude, situated in a delightful garden. Had the Princess been *at home*, we assuredly should not have thought of approaching her residence, but as she was absent, we did not scruple to take possession of it for the night.

Shortly before our arrival we passed a very elegant bridge thrown across a river, now small, but which apparently was considerable in the rainy season. I thought it the handsomest bridge I had seen since I was at Madras. During this stage I was thrown from my horse, but the accident seems to have made but little impression on me in any respect, since I have no recollection of it, and my notes merely state the circumstance, without saying how it happened. My little horse was most surefooted, but as it was late before we arrived at Begumgunge, he probably put his foot into a hole, or upon some unfirm ground, in the dark. I was kept awake this night by pain in my face, and in consequence slept beyond our usual hour of departure in the morning. We therefore breakfasted in the Princess's bungalow.

17*th.*—We then proceeded on horseback five coss through a delightful country covered with rich cultivation, interrupted only by dark groves of the mangoe tree. As we approached the Gogra the country had a very different aspect. The groves ceased, the cultivation diminished, and the showers of the preceding day not having extended thus far, clouds of sand, from the banks and bed of the river, swept by us and spread over the plain.

At two o'clock we reached Fyzabad, and found that the old camel-driver, who always considered me as the friend of the Nabob, had taken possession of very handsome quarters for us in a garden-house belonging to Hussun Riza Khan, a Mussulman noble attached to the Nabob's bodyguard. Finding, however, our apartment rather cold, we pitched our tent near the palace, in a situation exposed to the sun, and moved into it. I again suffered from inflammation in my face, although I had sent to the bazaar for some opium, and taken two grains before going to bed. Our direction from the Ganges to the Gogra, or from Cawnpore to Fyzabad, had been nearly due east.

18*th.*—After a cold night the thermometer this morning was as low as 51°. Proceeding through a part of the city, we went to visit the mausoleum of Sujah Dowlah. Its appearance did not answer our expectations, nor seem to correspond with the celebrity of that prince. Still less was it to be compared with the magnificent structures I had lately seen. Sujah ul Dowlah, King of Oude, father of Asoph ul Dowlah, the present sovereign, was one of the most distinguished princes of his time. His name I have already mentioned when speaking of the battle of Buxar. It was he who at that second Plassey commanded the forces of the allies. In the great engagement between the Hindoo and Mussulman armies of Hindostan, the triumph of the latter over double their numbers was ascribed principally to the skill and intrepidity of Sujah Dowlah.

We saw also some other buildings, particularly the boasted gateway of the Loll Bugh; but this would bear no comparison with the gateway leading to Acbar's tomb at Secundra. Indeed, although numerous palaces and gardens attest the former greatness of Fyzabad, this city is at present rather deserving of notice as the former capital of Oude than for the merit of any object it now possesses. Its present condition is that of every city dependent upon a court when that court is withdrawn—palaces deserted, diminished commerce, a population reduced and impoverished. Some of the princesses, however, of the family of the late Nabob still reside here, and there is still a manufacture of cotton cloths, some specimens of which were brought to me to look at.

The situation of the city upon the banks of the Gogra seemed fully as advantageous as that of Lucnow upon the Goomty, a much smaller river; but the present metropolis, on the other hand, has the advantage of being at a more central point of the Nabob's extensive dominions, and one more favourable for watching and defending their western frontier, the side most exposed to attack. Oude, the still more ancient capital of this country, was situated on the *eastern* bank of the Gogra, nearly opposite to Fyzabad.

19*th January.*—Dr. Lowe left Fyzabad early this forenoon with the camel, bullocks, etc., taking the road to Benares. I remained behind with my horse and palanquin, in order to complete some statistical inquiries, and look at some more specimens of manufacture and produce that were to be brought to me. I did not get away till the afternoon, when I rode in a direction south-south-east, across a flat country to Jelloud, where I expected to find the Doctor and the advanced party. I reached the appointed place of meeting soon after dark, but found not my companion; nor could I obtain any information about him, and finally passed the night alone, with the few persons who had accompanied me. Had such a separation taken place in the northern part of my journey, my uneasiness would have been

great, for there would have been reason to apprehend that the Doctor and his party had been cut off by the Goujers or Mewatties. There was no ground for particular anxiety here, his party, comprising nearly all our followers, being quite strong enough to resist any attack to which they were exposed in this part of the country.

20th January.—Having fixed upon Jelloud as our place of rendezvous, I determined to remain here till Dr. Lowe should join me, or until I should obtain some information about him. I had breakfast ready for him, and soon after nine had the satisfaction to see him making his way towards the village, followed by the camel, bullocks, etc. It appeared that the surly old camel-driver, who could always lead on these occasions, had led the party to a village four miles out of the road.

But this meeting was attended with a circumstance that caused me much distress. My chief, my most valuable servant, he who had so cheerfully shared all the hardships of my great journey, and whose address had been so useful to me on so many occasions, was missing. He had gone on with the advanced party the day before, and uneasy at my not joining it in the evening, had, dangerous as it was, alone, and at that hour, set out in search of me, but had neither found me nor rejoined the party he had left. We waited for him some time after breakfast; but as he did not join us, it seemed probable that he had already passed on. We therefore began our march, passing over a country well cultivated, principally with the roothum, a productive plant, though not of a very picturesque appearance. We also passed through several villages, in all of which I made particular inquiries for my servant, but without being able to obtain any account of him.

Two coss beyond Begrum we halted near a poor hamlet, whose few shops, however, afforded what grain was necessary for our men and the cattle. My own dinner no longer depended on the success of my gun or the scanty produce of a serai. Among the supplies which I had procured at Cawnpore was a small

provision of English ham and ale. The latter was in bottles, wrapped round with coarse flax, and packed in wooden boxes slung over the backs of the bullocks. I had also a small quantity of Madeira, packed in the same manner, for Dr. Lowe was my *guest* as well as my companion.

We had already made a full day's march, but, anxious to overtake my khansamah, or head servant, we made a hasty tiffen, as luncheon is called in India, on our own stores; our people, the camel, bullocks, and horses making at the same time a partial meal in a picturesque circle about us. When all were ready to move we resumed our march, and went three coss farther to Ulfutgunge. Although I could obtain no information about my man, it was impossible to go farther; and we therefore halted for the night, pitching the tent upon a small eminence about 200 yards from the town. In the evening the pain in my face returned, and kept me awake till one o'clock in the morning. Nothing afforded me relief. I ascribed this severity to a cold wind which began to blow soon after sunset.

21*st January*.—Anxious, however, about my servant, I rose at three in the morning, awakened my people, had the tent packed, and placed on the camel, and mounting my horse two hours before daybreak, moved forwards as fast as the darkness would permit. I was anxious to get as soon as we could to Tandah, for that being one of the principal towns on the road to Benares, it seemed likely I should find the khansamah there if he were before us, or that he would join us at that place, if still in the rear.

We reached Tandah at ten o'clock, and stopped at the bungalow of Mr. Orr, the English gentleman at whose house I had dined at Lucnow. It formerly belonged to Mr. Robert Scott, a gentleman now settled in the Benares district, where I subsequently became acquainted with him. Although Mr. Orr now resided at Lucnow, he had still a considerable manufactory of cotton cloths at Tandah. His gomashtah, or superintendent,

received us with great attention, but could give us no information about my servant. The inquiries he made in the town convinced him that he had not passed through it; and hence there seemed now to be little doubt of his being behind us. We accordingly decided upon halting the rest of the day. The gomashtah immediately ordered a good fire to be made for us in the great centre room of the bungalow, for the weather was still cold. There being no grate in the fireplace, the logs were placed upon the hearth.

In the evening inquiries were made for my khansamah of travellers who came in from different parts of the country, but without any satisfactory result. I was at a loss what to do. After some deliberation I determined to halt the following day also; for if no accident had happened to my man it seemed most probable that our forced marches to overtake him had placed us before him.

22*nd January*.—As a commercial servant of the East India Company, I wished to obtain every information respecting the agricultural and mercantile productions of the countries bordering on their dominions. I accordingly spent this forenoon in looking at specimens of the great manufacture of cotton cloths for which Tandah is famous, and made memoranda of their qualities, dimensions, and prices. Formerly great quantities of this much-esteemed fabric were sent down the Gogra to the Ganges, for the purpose of being transported on larger boats to Calcutta, whence they found their way to the ports of Europe. The demand for these cloths was considerably diminished for the present; but this depression was apparently only one of those vacillations to which the most prosperous trade is liable, and which is, indeed, the consequence of such prosperity. The demand would probably therefore revive, for the quality of the cloths was excellent, their prices low, and their transport exempt from the expense of land-carriage.

Strong wind from the west. My pain in my face continued very troublesome, notwithstanding the warmth of the good

gomashtah's blazing fire. The absence of all tidings of my head servant began to suggest painful conjectures respecting him. I wrote this evening to Mr. Orr at Lucnow, to thank him for the accommodation we had found in the bungalow, and to acknowledge the attentions of his superintendent.

23rd.—My uneasiness was great at being still without information of my servant. A person out alone at night was very likely to be attacked by wolves. To increase the chance of falling in with him, or of intelligence concerning him, we agreed to send on the camel and bullocks and greater part of the people, and remain ourselves in the bungalow till twelve o'clock. In fact we remained till three, when we mounted our horses and rode after the party who had left us in the forenoon. For some distance the road was between two extensive jeels, on which were quantities of wild duck, and other sorts of water-fowl. Farther on, barley fields, with their crops now far advanced, lined the road on each side. From two or three points we got fine views of the Gogra, here swelled to a considerable width, almost rivalling the Ganges itself in the higher parts of its course, and surpassing that river in the beauty of its banks. After riding eight miles we overtook the tent at a small village where the camel-driver had stopped. We were inclined to drink tea here, but could not get any milk, nor even firewood. The advanced party had not been able to obtain any information of the lost khansamah.

24th.—Our people having contrived to get some firewood this morning, we breakfasted before we began our march. We then all set off together, and at one o'clock reached Jelalpore. The country through which we had passed this stage was flat, and the cultivation was not equal to that of the two preceding days. But the eye was compensated for these defects by the beautiful approach to Jelalpore, situated upon the Jug, a small, but clear and winding stream, whose sloping banks are planted with groves and clumps of mangoe trees. The intervals between these and the water was occupied in some places as a

bleaching-ground to an extensive manufacture of cotton cloth. We crossed the river in a boat, and immediately entered the town, spread along the opposite or eastern bank. To my first inquiries after my servant I this time received the joyful information that he had been here two days before, and not being able to procure any account of us, had proceeded onwards under the persuasion that we must have passed by another road. Although I regretted his separation from us, and his long and solitary walk, my principal uneasiness was removed, as I had little doubt of his finding his way to my boats at Chunar.

Before dinner looked at some musters[1] that were brought to me. In the afternoon marched five coss across a low jungly flat, wholly uncultivated, and probably not capable of cultivation, in its present state at least, to Acbarpore, where we pitched the tent, in the middle of the great square of the serai. No milk was to be had here.

25*th*.—The camel being loaded at daybreak, we mounted our horses, and rode through Shah Gunge, five coss, to a small village two coss farther, where we halted for a few hours. We afterwards marched to a serai, consisting of about eighty houses in a single street. Notwithstanding this insignificance, there was a handsome gateway at each end, a strange disproportion, of which, however, I had already observed several instances. The most probable solution of this ludicrous discordance seemed to be that the founder of the town began by erecting a gateway at each extremity of the ground marked out for the houses, but that these had never reached their designed extent. Or, as I conceived to be the case in the present instance, the second gate may have been constructed when the plan had received its imperfect execution. But in India, where usages date from so great an antiquity, and mystery, and even deception, has so much influence, it is often impossible to obtain a rational explanation of existing customs. It was in the light of the moon that we approached the first noble gate-

[1] Samples.

way, and I was much struck with its majestic and venerable appearance, as the camel and his picturesque group about him gathered together before it, waiting for the gate to be opened. It was one of those characteristic scenes which India alone could produce, or Skelly or Longcroft delineate.

Nearly the whole country to-day was flat, as usual, and indifferently cultivated, and it was far from improving on our passing the small rivulet, about two cosses from Shahzadpore, which separates Oude from the province of Benares. It must not be inferred from this that the country of Oude is in general better cultivated than that of Benares—the contrary being notorious; but such happened to be the case here, from the operation, most probably, of some accidental cause of a local nature. The fact, however, was not unimportant, as affording double evidence of the unreasonableness of judging of the agricultural state of a country by a view of a limited part of its territory, especially when such part is placed near the line of a defenceless or undefended frontier. And yet Oude itself, though possessing the advantage over Benares at the point of junction here noticed, was subsequently made the victim of a similar conclusion.

In the morning division of our day's march we passed another very handsome bridge, in India a rare, and in any country a meritorious, sign of the attention of the sovereign to the good of his subjects. For though the funds for these constructions are exacted, in some shape, from the industry of the inhabitants, the prince is entitled to praise who appropriates this tribute to the erection of works which embellish the country, and contribute to the convenience of the people. We afterwards saw some fields of peas and sugar-cane, and some numerous flocks of sheep. The price of one of these, unfattened from the flock, was two Oude rupees, or about 3s. 6d. But the common Indian sheep is considerably smaller than the English breed. He is also inferior to the latter in the symmetry of his form and in the value of his fleece; but the inferiority must, I believe, be limited to these points.

Later in the day we passed a poor man lying a few yards from the right of the road, evidently in a very sick, or rather dying state, as was manifest from the number of vultures perched upon some trees near him, waiting for his last breath, or rather for the moment of his inability to repel their attack. Extraordinary and unfeeling as it now seems, there was not one Samaritan among so many—Mahomedans, Hindoos, and *Christians*—who thought of turning a few steps from his way to examine the state of this wretched sufferer, and see if he could not render him some service; if he could not bind up his wounds, and bring him to an inn, and take care of him. With surprise and self-reproach do I look back to my own indifference on this occasion. But such is the apathy of India on such occurrences. The approach of death produces little sensation, either on the spectator or the dying. As this insensibility is natural to the natives, and is invariably acquired by Europeans residing some time in the country, it seems reasonable to consider it as one of the demoralizing effects of the climate, and also, perhaps, of the frequency of such scenes as I had beheld to-day.

I once saw, as I was going along in my palanquin in Calcutta, a man, apparently dying, lying near the pales which separate the great road of Chowringhee from the esplanade of Fort William. The thousands who were passing by regarded him with indifference, no one offering him assistance, nor even speaking to him, and yet it was very probable that this man was perishing from want of food, or from some other cause which proper aid might remove.

On another occasion, as I was going in my palanquin through one of the most populous streets of Calcutta, leading to a great bazaar, I passed within a yard of a man lying on his back, apparently just dead. Crowds of men and women passed by, and almost over his nearly naked corpse with perfect indifference. If not removed before night by the scavenger's carts of the city, this office would certainly be performed then by the

hideous pariah dogs which prowl about the streets, or the jackals from the surrounding country, or by the enormous disgusting rats, and bundicoots, which run about the sewers and drains of Calcutta after dark.

I this evening wrote a note to Mr. Robinson, an English gentleman residing at Jionpore, saying that my fellow-traveller and I proposed passing the next day with him.

26*th.*—Breakfasted in our tent this morning before quitting the ground. We then set out for Mr. Robinson's house, at which we arrived by a circuitous march of five and a half coss, although, as we afterwards found, the distance was only one coss by the nearest road. Mr. and Mrs. Robinson gave us a very friendly reception. At dinner we met Mr. Watt and Mr. Leigh. The latter had lately resigned the military service of the Company to engage in commercial pursuits at Jionpore, a speculation which had at least the appearance of imprudence. Mr. Watt, I found, had formerly belonged to the *Crown* frigate, commanded by a brother of Lord Cornwallis, and he was consequently well acquainted with Mr. Rothery, an acquaintance of my friends in England, attached to the same ship. I enjoyed this discovery, having met Mr. Rothery at my uncle's table in the Strand, and thinking him a very gentlemanly man.

Thus I passed a very agreeable day in this society. After dinner we sat round a wood fire, and were as merry as a Christmas party in our own distant country. The journey I had made led to many inquiries, the parts I had visited being known but to few Europeans, and being considered more inaccessible than I really found them.

The principal inducement of these gentlemen to settle here was an extensive manufactory of cotton cloths. Some of them were also engaged in making indigo, a fallacious road to fortune, towards which some few examples of extraordinary success were precipitating the steps of almost every adventurer at this time. Jionpore has also a manufactory of needles, much

esteemed, and of hookah bottoms. Its sheep rival those of Behar, and are exported in considerable numbers.

The next morning, 27th January (being this day nineteen years of age), I rode with Dr. Lowe to view the ruins of Jionpore. The principal objects are a large mosque, formerly encompassed by a spacious quadrangle, now in ruins, and a mosque of smaller dimensions. The fort is a magnificent building, and was said to have been the residence of the ancient kings or rajahs of Jionpore, before this country lost its independence by the conquest of the Mussulmen invaders, when it was taken possession of by Sultan Beloli. It was subsequently the residence of different emperors, particularly of Acbar, by whom the bridge still existing was built. It consists of ten arches, and is considered one of the largest in India.

The walls of the old palace struck me by their antique singularity. In many parts they were covered with small glazed tiles of various colours, resembling painted porcelain. The polished surfaces of this substance were extremely hard and durable, and appeared to retain the first tints they had received, by what process I could not discover, in their original vivacity and freshness. I brought a few fragments away as a specimen deserving of imitation in other countries. The windows of the palace commanded a fine view over the river and the adjoining plain. The ruins of various other buildings covered a considerable extent of ground. The river Goomty is wide here, and the water was remarkably clear at the present season.

The population of the district of Jionpore consists principally of Hindoos, and comprises the celebrated sect of the Rajkomars, who destroy their female children. As Jionpore, forming part of the province of Benares, is subject to the Government of Calcutta, the latter has very properly adopted every advisable means of putting a stop to this barbarous sacrifice. Notwithstanding this interference, the practice was supposed to prevail in an undiminished degree, though in a more clandestine manner. The number of the Rajkomars was

estimated at 40,000, including of course all ages. A society so constituted cannot be brought under the usual rules of genealogical calculation, but supposing the female births to be only 3000 annually, the destruction of human life is appalling. I regretted not having an opportunity of conversing with some of the chiefs of this tribe; but it is understood that these people consider themselves to belong to an ancient race of kings, and the motive to which the destruction of their female children is ascribed is the difficulty of marrying them in a way suitable to their former rank. This explanation, however, seems as little satisfactory to common sense as to morality, since, if the female children were preserved, the supposed purity of the race might be maintained by intermarriages with the male population of the sect, whereas the latter was now compelled to marry beyond the limits of the royal line.

If I had been placed over the Jionpore district, as I rather expected to be at one time, I meant to direct my attention to this subject. There is no ground for doubting that the temperate use of religion, reason, and moral example will have the same successful influence in India, as in other countries, in correcting opinions and usages which have not religion, reason, and morality for their foundation. The only difference is that India, from the root which these opinions, and the practices founded upon them, have in a remote antiquity, and in the extreme susceptibility of the people, requires a more cautious and gradual application of this remedy. Painful as it was to hear that the destruction of the female infants of the Rajkomars still continued, it would be unjust to conclude from that circumstance that the public administration of the country had neglected any practicable means of suppressing a custom so repugnant to nature and to humanity. The *unnecessary* tolerance of the infanticides of Jionpore, and of numerous other enormities of the Hindoos scarcely less horrible, would be quite incompatible with the first obligation of a Christian government.

After staying amongst these ruins, the finest that my companion had seen, till the sun was becoming warm, we proceeded to rejoin the camel and our people, gone on before. It was, however, long before we overtook them, for the morose old driver, not finding a village to stop at that pleased him, had marched on ten coss or twenty miles—a long stage, which tired us all. But the country was well cultivated, and the road good. We saw many travellers, most of them carrying water from Hurdwar or some of the sources of the Ganges, real or reputed, to the Bramins of Benares. Each man carried two globular pots, one slung at each end of an elastic piece of bamboo placed across his shoulder. Passed the rest of the day in our tent pitched near a village.

Benares, 28th.—Breakfasted this morning under a mangoe tree while the camel was being loaded. We then moved towards Benares, now distant only a few miles. Having passed over a flat but well cultivated country, shaded by numerous groves of mangoe trees, at half-past twelve we came within sight of the celebrated city. The approach to it by land is not, however, so fine as that by water, although it presents several country houses or palaces surrounded by extensive gardens, belonging to the wealthier inhabitants.

I have said that on leaving Cawnpore I sent my boats on to Chunar, on the right bank of the Ganges, seventeen miles above Benares. My companion and I intended entering the city, but considering that it would be inconvenient for the camel to pass through the narrow and crowded streets, I desired the old driver to halt a few hours outside, and having moved a few miles towards Chunar in the evening, to go on, and cross to the boats the next morning.

Upon entering the streets now they appeared narrower than when I walked through them from my budgerow. Indeed, there was often barely room for two palanquins to pass each other, contracted as the space was, by the projecting mats or counters of the shops, spread with various sorts of grain, cloths, brass

vessels for religious or domestic use, oil, ghee, heaps of cowries from the Maldive Islands, trinkets and ornaments in great variety, some in gold and silver, commoner sorts in brass, principally for the ears, noses, wrists, and ankles of the women. In many of the streets I again saw the sacred bull, similar in every respect to the little white animal on which my cook's wife performed her pilgrimage, but vastly fatter. I could not help thinking that such a journey would do *them* good, and yet their delicate legs, slender almost as those of a deer, seemed scarcely able to sustain their load as these little beasts begged from shop to shop, or rather took what they pleased without begging, for I saw one of them thrust his nose into a heap of grain and help himself to a great mouthful without any hindrance from the owner. He then sauntered lazily away, the seed dribbling from his mouth as he chewed it idly; and he no doubt would repeat his salaam at another shop as soon as he had disposed of his first plunder. These bulls have a high hump on the back, or rather on the point of the shoulder, curling slightly backwards, and *trembling*, from the quantity of fat it contains, as the animal walks.[1] Some of these sacred beasts were lying down, sometimes nearly across the street; and as it would have been offensive to the people to disturb them, especially by harsh means, and it would have been difficult to make them stir without, it was not always easy to get by them.

Amongst the dense and diversified population exhibiting a remarkable difference of religion, character, country, and dress, were many Bramins, as fat and as idle in appearance as the bulls, and living probably much in the same manner—*nati consumere fruges*. Their numbers, exclusively of those who live upon property they possess or acquire by industrious occupation, amount to many thousands. They live entirely upon the

[1] Being now far from Benares I may venture to add that these humps are good to *eat*, and *are* eaten as a great delicacy by unscrupulous Europeans in India. They are salted and then boiled, and cut into thin slices like ham, the fat appearing marbled with the lean in a singular manner. My cook's bride, in her pilgrimage to Mathora, used to repose her hands on the ample hump with which her little bull was provided.

offerings of the pilgrims, of whom, during the seasons of the principal festivals, more than 100,000 are assembled within the sanctified limits of the city.[1]

After passing through many bazaars and streets, and before many temples resounding with the cry of Ram, Ram, Ram, and other ejaculatory exclamations, we reached the building, called by Europeans, with a propriety far from evident, the Cathedral. It is a small mosque wholly devoid of magnificence, erected, according to Mussulman practice, upon the ruins of a Hindoo temple. The limited site on which it was built may not have admitted of the usual display of beauty or splendour, or the imperial founder may have considered it more as a monument of triumph than of grandeur—have desired rather that it should express contempt than command admiration. Benares was indeed taken and plundered, and given up to every excess, by Mahomed Gauri in the year 1194; but the mosque in question was constructed by Aurungzebe, who has left behind him many similar proofs of his persecution of the Hindoos. A humane king would have lamented the past injuries of his subjects, a great one would have repaired them, but Aurungzebe, in a more enlightened age, and without the palliation of his predecessor, a barbarian and a conqueror, deliberately *augmented* the desolation of the city, the object of veneration of a whole people, and treated with derision and dishonour the religious feelings of its most peaceful inhabitants. It struck me as one of the most remarkable instances of the passive character of the Hindoos that they should have suffered the lofty minarets of this mosque to tower over their temples so long, and to be the first objects that meet the eye of the pilgrim on his approach to the far-sought sanctuary of his religion. It seemed probable, however, that this mortification would not exist much longer, for these minarets were now in such a state of decay, that on my propos-

[1] The real limits of Benares, vast as they are, not affording space and accommodation for the extraneous population always flocking in from all parts of India, the privileged precincts of the city are extended some way into the surrounding country.

ing to ascend one of them I was assured by a fearful Hindoo that the attempt was too dangerous. However, having stood under the tottering cupola of the Kuttul Minar, and having a great desire to enjoy the view the summit must command, I persisted in going up, and succeeded in reaching the top, where I was amply rewarded by the singular magnificence of the prospect.

It comprehended all Benares, itself a picture, vast and curious; the noble reach of the Ganges; the seemingly interminable line of ghauts crowded with bathers, male and female, from all parts of Hindostan; the Rajah's fort and palace on the opposite shore; the impregnable sides of the rock of Chunar, with the venerable battlements of the fortress above them; and farther to the west the indistinct range of the Chunar hills, stretching to the horizon. Nor were the "*sounds* of population" wanting, for a Hindoo temple, dedicated to the tutelary protector of Oude, being only a few yards from the base of the mosque, the "mingled notes" of the pilgrims at their prayers, and of the people in the streets, "came softened from below," and animated the enchantment of my remarkable position. Singular it was to look down from this pinnacle upon the scene beneath, to see and hear the most hostile sects, the conqueror and the conquered, the oppressor and the oppressed, the haughty Mussulman, and the humble Hindoo, peacefully assembled a short distance from each other, and blending in their devotions, "Ali al Allah," with "Ram, Ram,"—words which would once have been the signal of defiance and destruction, but now uttered without reproach, and heard without offence. It was the tiger and the kid lying down together under the equal protection afforded by a just and benevolent administration of the laws of a free and Christian country.

Descending to the roof of the mosque, and thence to the court below, we proceeded to the adjoining ghaut, and going down a long flight of steps entered a boat which our servants had got ready for us, and rowed over to Ramnaghur, on the

opposite side of the Ganges. It may almost be considered as part of Benares, the Rajah and many of the principal inhabitants residing here.

Having heard that an English gentleman was living at Ramnaghur, we went immediately to his house, for in the interior of India every person's house was open to the traveller for whatever he wanted, from a loaf of bread to a night's lodging. The proprietor, the Rev. Mr. Mackinnon, being absent, we took possession of his house; and Dr. Lowe having once met this gentleman, wrote to him at Benares, where he then was, to inform him of our having done so.

The following was Mr. Mackinnon's answer :—

DEAR SIR—The highest compliment a traveller can pay me, and the greatest favour he can do me, is to use my house as his own. Mr. Twining's liberal curiosity is not unknown to me, and has of course attached me to him. I am extremely sorry I happen to be from home. I have been all to-day, by particular invitation and engagement, attending the Commander-in-chief and Resident in a visit to the Cathedral, Observatory, etc. To-morrow the General crosses over to Ramnaghur to return the Rajah's visit, and to gratify his curiosity. I return with him, and have engaged one or two to dine with me on the breaking up of the party. I shall be much flattered if you and Mr. Twining will delay your progress for a day to favour me with your company also to-morrow.—Yours, dear sir, very truly, D. MACKINNON.

I was surprised to find by this note that Sir Robert Abercromby was at Benares, on his return to Calcutta. I should have been glad to see him, but as he would be much occupied the next day, and Mr. Lowe was anxious to get on, his leave of absence being nearly expired, we agreed to move to Chunar the next morning. We therefore slept this night at Mr. Mackinnon's house, and the following morning, early, 29th January, rode to Chunar, where I found my boats, safely arrived. I also had the satisfaction of finding my head servant, lost on the road from Fyzabad, but my journal does not give the particulars of his adventures during our separation. I slept once more on board my budgerow, where I also spent the following day, aiding Dr. Lowe in his arrangements for returning as quickly as pos-

sible to his station. His departure caused me much regret. His amiable disposition, his curiosity and intelligence, had rendered the last part of my journey extremely agreeable.

1*st February.*—This morning I moved to the bungalow of my old acquaintances, Captain and Mrs. Mackenzie. I met there, at dinner, Lieutenant Herring, a relative, I found, of a family of that name (descendants of Archbishop Herring), in whose company my father and I visited the Peak in Derbyshire, wandering about the shores of the Styx together.

2*nd.*—Called upon the commanding officer of the station, who was so good as to request his aide-de-camp, Captain Lloyd, to show me whatever was curious in the fort. The most remarkable thing I saw was the open stone-work of an ancient building, whose name is almost effaced from my journal. The ascent to the fort is by a steep winding road, completely commanded in all its turns by the cannon on the walls. On every other side the rock is nearly perpendicular, and quite inaccessible. It probably resembles the droogs of the Mysore country. Unshadowed and exposed as the interior of the fort is, it is not surprising that it should be one of the hottest places in this part of India. It is on account of this dry and excessive heat that the lovers of good Madeira in Calcutta send their wine to the top of the Chunar rock, to remain in cellars there two or three years, or until three pipes are reduced, by evaporation, to two.

Dined with Colonel Johnstone. Met Colonel Browne, who had lost an arm, but played at whist with the other.

3*rd February.*—I crossed the Ganges early this morning and proceeded in my palanquin to Secrole, near Benares, to pay my respects to Mr. Duncan, the Resident, and see a little more of the city. Mr. Duncan was just sitting down to breakfast when I arrived. He received me very politely, and, speaking of the most remarkable objects the city contained, mentioned the faquir who lay upon a bed of spikes, adding that he himself had seen him frequently. Upon my expressing a desire to have a similar

conviction of a fact so extraordinary, he directed me to the ghaut, where I should be certain of finding him.

Leaving Mr. Duncan after breakfast, I crossed a sandy plain to Benares, distant about two miles, and entered that city for the third time.

I first visited the Observatory, a building formed principally of an immense gnomon, placed across the graduated segment of a circle, on which the shadow of the gnomon is thus seen and measured.

The gnomon itself is a solid wall about three feet thick, and may be ascended to the top by steps made across it. Its perpendicular height appeared to be about forty feet. Along the inclined edge were rings or loops of iron to direct the sight. This extraordinary building was erected by the scientific Hindoo, Jey Sing, Rajah of Benares, in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

I now passed again through several of the narrow streets of the city, formed of small houses, two or three storeys high, many of them painted with various colours, as noticed in my first visit. There was also the same obstruction from the crowds of people, and from the lazy Braminy bulls; the same vociferations of Ram! Ram!; the same variety of complexion among the pilgrims, from the ruddy Seik to the swarthy inhabitant of Malabar; the same difference of physiognomy, character, and dress. I was conducted to one of the principal temples, erected to Mahadeva. The court being crowded, I did not go into it, but from the threshold I could see the people praying and salaaming before an image placed at the back of the temple.

Not far from the door of this court I saw, sitting upon a small terrace by the side of the street, raised about three feet, a faquir, whose appearance induced me to stop and look at him. He had no covering but a piece of cloth about his loins. His legs, as he sat, were raised, and crossed over the back of his neck, thus forcing his body forwards and his head downwards, so that I could hardly see the whole of his face, even with stoop-

ing. I did not venture to speak to so holy a personage, not knowing how far this would be agreeable to him, or to the people standing about; nor did he say anything to me; but he looked at me rather good-humouredly, as I fancied, as if to express that he was not displeased with my curiosity. I therefore drew still nearer, and examined him still more particularly. One arm was erect above his head and feet, and was, I understood, quite fixed in that position, as it appeared to be, the muscles having become so stiffened as to have lost all action. The whole limb was frightfully withered and reduced, but it was the hand that presented the most shocking deformity. The form of a hand was nearly gone, being changed into the appearance of a round ball of shrivelled flesh, with long thin nails growing out of it. I had heard of faquirs whose nails, by long pressure against the palms of their hands, had grown out of the backs of them, and I perceived that I had an indubitable instance of this penance before me. Upon my expressing this opinion to the bystanders, they said it was so; the hand had been kept firmly clasped, till the nails had perforated the flesh, and protruded on the other side. Even the nails partook of the general deformity. They were about an inch in length, much convexed, and looked altogether more like pieces of quill, cut down the middle, than human nails.

The legs and feet, crossed over the neck, were also emaciated and shrunken, and were, I was told, as immovable as the arm. Whether he could disengage his neck from this arch, and raise his body and head, or whether the whole posture was unchangeable, I could not ascertain. Still less could I learn if any, and what, particular incident had led to this self-torture, or what was its object, or supposed privileges. Such investigations would have been likely to displease the Goseins and Bramins —*genus irritabile vatûm*—who surrounded me. These persons seemed rather apprehensive lest I should touch the faquir as I examined him; but my caution in this respect was fully as necessary as theirs, for my own safety, no less than his sanctity,

would have been compromised by such an indiscretion. A man with a chowrie, or whisk, sat by him to flap away the flies and keep off the bulls. Indeed, one of these, as he *grazed* along the shops, would probably have thrust his horns against the faquir and upset him, if the guardian had not turned him gently aside.

I now proceeded to the ghaut to see the man upon the bed of spikes, but had the mortification to find that I had come to the wrong place, and that the person I sought was at another ghaut a considerable way off. The sun being now very hot, I felt it necessary to restrain my curiosity for the present at least. I was aware that such an issue of my research would be fatal to the credit of this story, as far as it depended upon my evidence; but Mr. Duncan's testimony of the existence of this extraordinary exhibition left no doubt in my own mind upon that point. Mr. Duncan told me that this faquir, after having performed other penances of a milder description, travelled to Cashmire. He there applied to a rajah of the country for a surseya, or bed of spikes, but the Rajah refusing he declared that his curse should be upon him if he did not comply with his request. Alarmed at this threat, the Rajah presented him the surseya on which he then lay. From Cashmire he came on it to Benares, and afterwards travelled on it through Bengal to Juggernaut on the coast below Balasore, and thence across the peninsula of India to the Malabar coast; after which he returned to Benares. The time he had thus spent on the surseya had already exceeded thirty years.

This bed, as far as I could judge from drawings of it I have seen, was about five feet long and three broad, with one end raised to form a pillow, which also was covered with spikes. These were apparently about four inches long and two inches from each other. They were rather rounded at the ends, so that, inconceivable as it was that a man nearly naked as the faquir was could lie long upon such a couch without intolerable suffering, it did not appear to me that the points, at the distance at

which they were fixed from each other, were sharp enough to penetrate the flesh.

The acts of these devotees are very numerous and various, and are all more or less repugnant to reason—many to decency. Some go about encumbered with chains; some, as the man I saw near Allahabad, sit all day long with their shaven heads exposed to the burning sun. Others suspend themselves by their feet to the branches of trees, others measure great distances, as from Benares to Juggernaut, by extending themselves along the ground.

Having looked at some of the productions exposed for sale in an adjoining bazaar, I returned to the river-side and crossed over to Ramnaghur. Mr. Mackinnon, to whose house I went, being again absent from home, I walked, as soon as the sun was sufficiently low, to see the neighbouring palace of the Rajah, built by the Rajah Bulwunt Sing, and enlarged by Cheyt Sing. It is on an extensive scale, and commands a fine view of the Ganges and of Benares, on the opposite shore. But I was most struck with a magnificent tank, surrounded by temples, baths, and pavilions of marble, all of great elegance. It was one of the many productions of the Rajah Jey Sing, the founder of the observatories of Dehli and Benares, whose public spirit, directed to works of taste and magnificence, seemed to have been without precedent, and to have remained without imitation.

Mr. Mackinnon did not return till late in the evening. And here was another singular circumstance.

Not far from Bitteswell is the village of Claybrook. The curate and officiating minister of this village was Mr. Macauley, a friend of Mr. Powell of Bitteswell, at whose hospitable table I had frequently met him before I sailed for Bengal. Meeting him there again on my return to England, he asked me if I had ever heard anything of his rector in India. Upon inquiring his name, Mr. Macauley said it was Mackinnon, and a little explanation from him and Mr. Powell soon made it evident that the reverend gentleman at Ramnaghur was no other than the rector of Claybrook. Such being the case, it seemed rather extraordinary

that when at Bitteswell, and in the company of Mr. Macauley before going to India, I should never have heard that the rector of Claybrook was in that country; that Mr. Macauley, knowing my destination, should not have said, You will perhaps see my rector, Mr. Mackinnon. It was not improbable also that Mr. Mackinnon should have heard my name as connected with his neighbour, the vicar of Bitteswell. As it was, all I knew of Mr. Mackinnon while I was his guest was, that he was chaplain to His Majesty's regiment, the 76th, then in India, and that he was residing at Ramnaghur on leave of absence.

The next morning, 4th February, I returned to my boats, and confirmed a bargain made by my head servant for the sale of the camel and bullocks to a merchant of Chunar. My tent I kept to take with me. I had once thought of visiting the ancient city of Sasseram and the celebrated fortress of Rotas, both situated in the southern part of Shahabad, but I had no time for this prolongation of my tour, and the sun besides had acquired too much power. I therefore took leave of Captain and Mrs. Mackenzie, and Colonels Johnstone and Browne, and completed my arrangements for descending the Ganges the next morning.

5th.—The moorings of both boats were loosened at daybreak, and soon after, everything being ready, I gave orders for casting off. The men having gained the middle of the stream began rowing down it with the cheerfulness which attends the commencement of every voyage towards home.

The towering minarets of Aurungzebe were soon in sight. We passed near the palace of the former Rajah of Benares, Cheyt Sing, and saw the lofty window from which that unfortunate chief made his perilous escape from the confinement in which he had been placed by Mr. Hastings.[1] We rapidly swept

[1] The history of this occurrence would form an episode not without interest, but too long to be placed here. It seems certain that the Rajah had prepared a plan for the seizure of the Governor-General as he approached Benares on the river. Had such an event taken place, the consequences might have been most serious to our then unstable position in India.

I wish to avoid speaking of the merits or demerits (and every Government probably has both) of Mr. Hastings' administration. Indeed, I have never *struck*

the long line of ghauts, with their steep flights of steps, descending from the high elevation of the city into the water, and covered with thousands of bathers. This was the fourth time of my beholding the Athens of India from the great river, and its noble appearance had lost nothing of its effect. The Ganges in all its course did not reflect so grand an object. On the other shore we left the fortified walls of the palace of Ramnaghur, and in a short time saw on our left the mouth of the Lucnow river, the Goomty.

Having stopped a couple of hours in the afternoon for the boatmen to cook their dinners, we continued our course during the night, a few only of the men rowing at a time, just to keep the boats in the strength of the current. We thus repassed the Caramnassa, forming the western boundary of Shahabad, and afterwards the fort of Buxar and the northern shore of the Shahabad district, with its varied and prolific culture.[1] On the

the balance of my opinion, so to say, on this complicated subject. But I consider him to have been a very able and upright man, who acted for the best under circumstances of peculiar embarrassment, created in a great measure by his predecessors and colleagues in office. At all events nothing could justify the torture of an eight years' trial, nor the unmeasured violence and extreme inaccuracy and misrepresentation of his accusers. Of the latter, one instance came to my knowledge during my present journey. Among the nobles of Oude who accompanied the Nabob to meet Sir Robert Abercromby at Dalmow was Almas Ally Khan, a favourite of His Royal Highness, and chief of one of his provinces through which I passed. Now, this said personage was a kojah—that is, one of those pitiable beings after which Terence has named one of his plays; and yet Mr. Burke gravely descanted before the House of Commons and the judges at the trial on the cruelties of Mr. Hastings towards Almas and *his children*.

I never saw Mr. Hastings, but his friend Colonel T——, the East India director, once showed me a letter in which Mr. Hastings was pleased to mention me in terms I little deserved, giving me credit for a knowledge of India I was far from possessing, and inviting me to take a more prominent part in the Company's affairs. Of all the propositions of a similar nature, made to me by strangers and friends, no one afforded me more pleasure than this.

[1] Subsequently, when under my charge, an extensive tract of country, comprehending 1500 towns and villages, was annexed to the eastern frontier of Shahabad, which thus extended from the Caramnassa nearly to the gates of Patna, and included the military station of Dinapore as well as Buxar. My predecessor had computed the population of Shahabad and Rotas to be 2,000,000. I therefore seemed to be much within bounds in limiting the estimate to that number, even *after* the augmentation above mentioned, which alone produced an accession of more than 200,000 souls.

opposite or left bank of the Ganges I again saw the mouth of the Gogra, which I had already seen higher up its course, under the ancient walls of Fyzabad, and that also of its sister stream, the Gunduik, flowing nearly in a parallel direction from the same northern hills, and whose waters are said to produce swellings similar to the goîtres of Switzerland.

The western shore presented the transparent Soane, flowing pure and salubrious from its bed of cornelians. This fine river, called the Calimatis of the Greeks (by what etymological rule or corruption it is difficult to conceive), formed the lower boundary of the districts of Rotas and Shahabad on the line of the Ganges.

During the following nights and days I repassed successively the large military stations of Dinapore, the city of Patna, Bar, where Sir Robert Abercromby had come on board my boat in the storm, and Monghir, where in passing I paid a hasty visit to Generals Briscoe and Ellerker, and my old shipmates, Mr. and Mrs. Ross Moore.

On the 18th we passed the insular rock inhabited by Bramins and faquirs.

The Boglipore nullah, through which the Commander-in-chief's fleet had passed when ascending the Ganges in the rains, being no longer navigable, I stopped off the island it forms, and mounting my horse, who sprang from his boat as formerly, set off across it to visit a gentleman at the Boglipore station, a friend of Mr. Fletcher. When something more than half way across the island the chattah-burdur, or man who carried a large parasol over my head, staggered a few steps and fell down, struck by a *coup-de-soleil.* I was much alarmed when I saw the parasol fall from his hand and himself stretched motionless on the ground. The horse-keeper and I afforded him what assistance we could, and by fanning him and keeping off the sun we brought him gradually to himself, and at length, supported by the syce, he was able to reach the small ferry we had to pass. I left him in a cottage on the other side, with orders

to the people to procure a dooley (a very simple species of palanquin) and carry him, in the cool of the evening, to the boats. When I returned to my budgerow the next morning, I found him better, but it was some days before he recovered his strength and was quite well. From such force in the sun so early in the year, an idea may be formed of its fatal power in the hottest season.

Since leaving Patna I had seen several flocks of pelicans, chiefly on the sand-islands, from which they generally rose and flew to the land as our boats approached. They probably had learned this precaution from the fowling-pieces of European officers, notwithstanding the protection which seemed due to their singularity, to their harmlessness, and to their uselessness when killed.

Rowing with scarcely any intermission, and hoisting our sails when the wind would permit, we at length saw again the ruins of Rajmehal, the first and last object of importance which the Ganges offers. As we approached the mouth of the Sooty nullah the next day, the great number of boats collected about it too plainly indicated that the passage was closed. On arriving at the nullah, we found that in some parts it had not two feet of water. This was a serious circumstance, but the scene which resulted from it was novel and curious. Some of the boats—those which, like ours, had descended the Ganges—were discharging their cargoes, wholly or partially; others were employed in removing their stores and heavier articles to the shore; while others, more forward in these preparations, were advanced into the entrance of the shallow channel, where their own and other crews, assembling round and under them, raised them and forced them along. Other boats were advancing northwards through the passage, propelled by the same laborious means; others were emerging from it, and washing their dirty sides in the clear water of the great river.

It would be difficult to imagine the strange spectacle which these active operations, all going on at the same time, produced

—the simultaneous songs and shouts of the boatmen to procure an united effort, their usual ingenuity and patience, their toil and merriment, their splashings, their bodies besmeared with mud; while on the land were seen parties moving the cargoes and ponderous objects—masts, anchors, and enormous rudders —from one extremity of the obstructed channel to the other. When it is considered that the distance is less than a mile, surprise is naturally felt that a powerful and intelligent Government should have done nothing to remove so serious an obstacle to the internal navigation of the country, either by deepening the old bed of the nullah or forming a canal by the side of it. Or why not open a direct communication between the Ganges at Bogwangola and the Cossimbazar river, a little above Moorshedabad, where the distance, over a soft level, does not exceed five or six miles? What advantage this would offer to the ancient capital of Bengal, now depopulated and impoverished, what facility and economy to the inland trader, what expedition and convenience to the traveller.

The extreme cheapness of labour in India renders such works there of peculiarly easy execution. If a scanty portion of the immense sums drawn annually from our Eastern possessions, in the shape of commercial investment, were expended *in* them, both the appearance of the country and the comfort of its population might undoubtedly be improved by many projects equally conducive to the prosperity of the state. But it is from Government alone that such measures are to be expected. Not that what is called public spirit is unknown to the natives of India—memorials numerous and visible attest the contrary; but the great landholders, the rajahs, the khans, the principal zemindurs, are impoverished and disheartened by the weight of taxation imposed upon the productive resources of the country, and dishonoured and estranged from us by their unprecedented exclusion from the great and lucrative offices of the public administration.

Important measures, devised by excellent men for the good

of the country, but framed without due local knowledge and practical experience, have often proved ruinous in their effects; and among the consequences of these precipitate errors, the most to be lamented, may be reckoned the extinction of private emulation, individual enterprise, and disinterested munificence amongst the higher classes of the people, the ready and liberal patrons of public undertakings in former times. It is to be hoped that these mistakes will not occur in future; that, instructed by the past, experience will henceforth precede experiment; that the regulations of our Indian administration, whether framed at home or abroad, will be adapted to the peculiarities of the country, and of our anomalous connection with it; and that we shall avoid especially those utopian systems of theoretic legislation which, if ever introduced into our Indian possessions, will gradually undermine the weak foundations of our unreal pre-eminence, and finally risk, to the chief misfortune perhaps of India itself, the subversion of our empire in the East.

The Sooty nullah being thus far closed, I had no alternative but to proceed to Bogwangola, thirty-five miles lower down the Ganges, and only a very few across the country from Moorshedabad. Having procured bearers for my palanquin and light baggage, and directed the manjirs of the two boats to return to the Sooty to unload them, and force the passage and proceed to Santipore, I set out for Jungypore, the Company's commercial station before-mentioned, a few miles above Moorshedabad, and after spending a few hours with Mr. Atkinson, the resident, while he placed other bearers for me on the road to the above city, I proceeded on. Mr. Atkinson having said that a Mr. Carr was chaplain to the troops at Berhampore, the military station adjoining Moorshedabad, it occurred to me that he was possibly the brother of my father's friend, the reverend schoolmaster at Twickenham, whose house looked upon some verdant meadows watered by a small winding *nullah*, which, after having formed the boundary of my father's great hay-field, joined the *great*

river at Isleworth.[1] At all events, I directed my bearers to carry me to Mr. Carr's house, situated between Moorshedabad and Berhampore.

Mr. Carr *was* the brother of the Twickenham gentleman, and expressed by the cordiality of his reception the pleasure he had in seeing one of a family with which he had formerly been well acquainted. Finding that Sir Robert Abercromby was then off Berhampore, I lost no time in repairing to his pinnace, where he received me with the kindest expressions of congratulation. I recapitulated the circumstances of my introduction to the Emperor at Dehli, and the terms of obligation and acknowledgment in which His Majesty had expressed himself in respect to His Excellency.

The next day, 25th February, I received an invitation from the officers of Berhampore to a ball in the evening. I dined with the head surgeon of the station, whose turn it seemed to be to give a dinner to the principal officers, civil and military, of the two stations.

26*th*.—The following evening, bearers having been stationed at the usual distances, I left the hospitable roof of Mr. Robartus Carr, and travelling all night along the road taken by the armies of the Nabob and Colonel Clive after the battle of Plassey, and crossing once more the celebrated plain itself, I reached, the next afternoon, Kishenaghur, the chief station of the Nuddea district, and spent the rest of the day there.

At daylight the next morning, 28th February, I set out in my palanquin for Santipore, passed the tiger-forest, and in two hours more reached the old bungalow, and had the satisfaction of finding Mr. Fletcher quite well. Thus ended my journey, after an absence of seven months and a half. In a few days

[1] In my earliest years I admired the modest beauty of this retired stream. I often played upon its willow-shaded banks, and followed its meanders to the Thames; but in what hill or glen, near or distant, it first came to light was always a mystery which my ardent curiosity could never penetrate. If, peradventure, my last childhood, as my first, should be passed near this streamlet, I should still like to remove this veil, and trace it upwards to its source.

more my boats arrived safely. The commander of the budgerow and the boatmen having received the wages due to them, and a remuneration not less due for their exemplary conduct under trials so long and various, soon after took leave of me, and returned to Calcutta.

PART IV

AMERICA

1795.—The state of my health rendering a voyage to Europe necessary, I determined to proceed by way of America. Accordingly, towards the end of November, I left Santipore, taking with me a small Bengal cow, in addition to my doombah and other curiosities brought from Dehli. The natives would not have consented to sell me a cow if I had not assured them that it would be an object of particular interest and care in the countries I was taking it to. I also had made, by an ingenious workman of Santipore, small, but very exact, models of the principal machines and instruments used in the agriculture and manufactures of India. Among these was a model of an Indian plough, and an excellent one of an Indian loom, with the threads upon it, executed with remarkable precision and neatness. With all these objects I arrived, by the Ganges, at my old quarters in Captain Thornhill's house.

One of my first visits was to the commander of the American ship *India*, Captain John Ashmead. He was a Quaker; a tall, thin, upright man of about sixty or perhaps sixty-five, in whose respectable and pleasing appearance the usual mildness and simplicity of his sect, with a deep tinge of characteristic peculiarity, were visible. His thin silvery locks curled round the collar of his old-fashioned single-breasted coat, with a row of large plain buttons down the front like a schoolboy's. He introduced me to the supercargo, a

Scotchman. The same evening the Captain accompanied me to the ship. This I found rather smaller than I had expected. Her measurement was only about 300 tons. But everything on board was seamanlike and neat. The upper deck was flush, that is, level, from head to stern, without any cabin upon it, as in the *Ponsborne*. The lower deck, to which the descent was by a straight ladder from the quarterdeck, had a spacious cabin or dining-room towards the stern, comprehending the whole width of the ship and lighted by the stern windows. I agreed for the starboard half of this room, consenting to its being separated from the other half by a green baize curtain, which was to be drawn back along a brass rod at the hours of dinner and breakfast. The dining-table was fixed in the middle of the room, and half of it consequently remained in my cabin when the curtain was drawn.

As the ship was to sail in a few days, I had not much time to prepare for my voyage. The American captains having the reputation of keeping rather an indifferent table — living, it was said, principally on salt beef and sour-crout—Mr. Fletcher had the goodness to send me ten fat sheep from his flock at Santipore. For these and my cow and doombah, a considerable quantity of hay was necessary. I therefore ordered my servants to buy grass, or rather the *roots* of grass, in the bazaars, and which, being spread and exposed to the sun upon the flat roofs of Captain Thornhill's outhouses, was closely pressed into bundles.

To increase my collection of objects relating to India, I bought, at a sale by auction, some oil-paintings executed by an able European artist. One represented an elephant with a howdah upon his back, kneeling to be mounted; another exhibited two or three zuz, a small leopard of elegant form, used in hunting the antelope. They were muzzled and had collars round their necks, and were led by their attendants like greyhounds to the chase. But the most valuable addition was that which my ménagerie received, consisting of a Thibet or shawl goat, presented to me by my friend, Mr. Myers,

Deputy Accountant-General. This animal was a curiosity even in Calcutta. It was small, thin, and scraggy, and had long hair, principally black, with some white about the neck and legs. Upon dividing this long hair a short white soft wool was seen, covering the body like down, and this was the precious material from which the shawl of Cashmire is fabricated. It being much doubted and disputed whether it was a *goat* or a *sheep* which produced this substance, I considered myself fortunate in being able to exhibit in America and Europe such decisive testimony upon this point. I had, however, some uneasiness from the apparently delicate state of the goat's health, which seemed to have suffered from the damp climate of Calcutta.

In the first days of December, the *India*, having completed her lading, dropped down the river, and in two days more I followed her. I left the ghaut of the Bankshall (the name of Captain Thornhill's office) late in the evening in a paunchway, a small covered boat rowed by four men seated before the roofed part, and steered by a fifth, who stood behind it. The good Captain and his son, Mr. John Thornhill, accompanied me to the water's edge. The tide running very rapidly, I was far advanced at daybreak next morning, and in the afternoon reached the ship, which was anchored not far from the point where I had disembarked from the *Ponsborne* in 1792. I spent the remainder of the day in arranging my things in my cabin, in fixing my excellent English trunks, which I had fortunately preserved, and in securing a teakwood bedstead, with drawers under it, which I had bought in the bazaar of Calcutta. The upper part, with the bedding upon it, was made to be lifted up from the drawers, and to serve as a swinging cot in rough weather. The small white cow, Cabul sheep, Cashmire goat, and the sheep from Santipore were disposed of: some in, some under, the boats between the main and foremast. The monkey from the north of India had a welcome reception on the forecastle among the crew.

On the 9th December, the pilot being on board and the wind quite fair, the anchor was heaved and we set sail. Leaving Sangor Island close on our left, we passed between this and the numerous shoals and sandbanks across which the *Ponsborne* had had so narrow an escape. We saw many immense buoys of different colours moored with strong chains—some on the sands, others in the fairway or channel—to be followed by ships. But notwithstanding these precautions and an extensive establishment of pilots under the direction of Captain Thornhill, many vessels are annually lost in this dangerous navigation. Arrived off the sand-heads, we saw a pilot schooner cruising for inward-bound ships. Having made a signal to her she approached us and received our pilot on board, when the venerable Quaker, who till now had been a quiet spectator on board his own ship, took the command. And here I could not but observe a singular contrast between this old man and my first captain—between the cool unassuming demeanour of Captain Ashmead and the loud authoritative manner of Captain Thomas. A difference, no less striking, was observable between the well-manned decks and simultaneous movements of the Indiaman, and the scanty crew and slow consecutive operations of the American ship. For the whole crew of the latter being only twenty-two men, the principal work of the three masts, instead of going on at the same time, as in the *Ponsborne*, was necessarily done in succession; the men descending from one mast to mount another, hoisting the foretop-sail first and the maintop-sail afterwards. I observed, also, that of our numbers thus small, the greater part consisted of very young men, apparently not more than eighteen or twenty years of age. They were better dressed than the sailors I had been accustomed to see, and had altogether a more respectable, though a less robust and seamanlike appearance. The cause of this difference was, for the present, unknown to me. At first I was rather startled at this apparent inefficiency, and at the idea of undertaking the passage of the Cape of Good Hope in so small

a ship so feebly manned. On the other hand, I was much pleased with the mild inoffensive tone in which the Captain gave his orders, and with the cheerful alacrity with which they were executed. There was no oath, nor threat, nor vulgar language; no anxious exertion or fearful obedience. There was nothing to damp the satisfaction and gladness of that joyful moment of a seaman's life, when, after a long voyage, the ship's head is again turned towards his native country.

We stood out of Balasore roads towards the middle of the bay, and having gained a good offing, beyond the variable breezes of the coast, steered to the south. The north-west monsoon now prevailing, and blowing fresh on our starboard quarter, we kept a straight course down the bay at about seven knots an hour. The weather was so mild and fine that for several nights I slept upon the after-part of the upper deck, over my cabin, stretched upon a hencoop, and I found that I thus avoided all material inconvenience from sea-sickness. After five or six days I was able to take my place at the dinner-table. The party here consisted of Captain Ashmead, Mr. Pringle, the supercargo, Mr. Gilmore, Mr. Brisbane, the surgeon, a young man, who was chief mate, and myself. Mr. Gilmore was son of one of the owners of the ship, and had come to India in her with the view of learning the business of an India voyage under Mr. Pringle.

We had a fair wind and fine weather from the sand-heads to the latitudes bordering on the line. We here experienced some light, baffling breezes, but our progress was not interrupted by those total calms so usual near the equator. The ship's head was now turned towards the Cape of Good Hope. We spent our Christmas day not very far from the Isle of France, or Mauritius (Maurice), as it was called by the Dutch, the original possessors. On this occasion the usual salutations of the day were exchanged amongst us; we had a more ample dinner, and there was an extra distribution to the men, who were dressed as on Sundays. There was something impressive in the observance

of this great day by our little society in the midst of the ocean. We approached nearer to the French Islands than would have been prudent for a vessel not under neutral colours, for they were the general rendezvous of the numerous privateers which had done so much injury to the British commerce in the Indian seas.

The Isle of France is situated in 20° of south latitude, the Isle of Bourbon about 150 miles more to the south. The former is about fifty leagues in circumference, the latter about eighteen leagues in length and thirteen in width. The climate of both is said to be delightful, and to be congenial to most of the productions of the tropical regions, such as sugar, coffee, tobacco, indigo, cotton, the breadfruit-tree, etc. The population of the Isle of France is about 70,000, principally slaves procured from Madagascar. I could not help wishing that we might put into Port Louis, the chief port of this island; but neither a deficiency in our water, nor any other circumstance, requiring this deviation, our prudent Captain continued his course towards the Cape, passing not far from the south end of the Island of Madagascar. In a few days more we approached the Cape of Good Hope, and the usual preparations for stormy weather were made accordingly. The Captain ordering a reef in the mainsail, all hands that could be spared from deck, amounting to eighteen, went upon the mainyard. On board a man-of-war, or even an Indiaman, this operation would have required only a few minutes, but our crew, as I have already observed, was very young, and individually very weak, consisting rather of boys than men, and it consequently took a long time to haul up the sail and make it fast. The old man, however, never lost his temper or patience, and the sailors having accomplished their task in the quiet orderly way in which everything was conducted on board, were descending to the deck when one of the last of them observed that the slings which suspended the mainyard were broken; two-thirds of the twists had given way, leaving the whole weight upon one-third alone. This discovery greatly

affected the Captain, and caused a considerable impression through the ship, for it was evident that the eighteen men who had just left the yard had been exposed to great danger. Had the yard fallen with them, all, it was probable, would have been killed or disabled. After the first impressions had subsided it became a question amongst us what we should have done if the threatened accident had taken place. Here our helplessness became more evident, and rendered us more sensible of our providential escape.

Continuing our course towards the west, in a few days more we got soundings, and thought we discovered land upon the starboard beam. We were upon a deep bank called Agulas's bank, which extends more than 100 miles to the south of the Cape. The nature of the bottom being different in different parts, it was desirable to obtain some portion of it in order to ascertain our position with more precision. For this purpose a lead was used of about a foot long and two inches in diameter, with a small cavity at the bottom filled with putty. When the lead was drawn in, sand and broken shells were found attached to it. Comparing this result with a map of the bank, our position appeared, and, confirming the ship's reckoning, the Captain had no desire to see the land more distinctly. We passed first Sebastian's Bay ; afterwards False Bay, which opens towards the south ; and lastly Table Bay, a little round the point on the Atlantic side, and near Cape Town. The winds were now strong against us from the west, but we got on against them by aid of a strong current which always runs down the eastern coast of Africa, and sets round the land. It is for this reason that homeward-bound ships, or rather, ships bound to the west of the Cape, keep near it, *hugging the land* as the sailors say ; while those bound eastward keep to the south. Although we thus passed the Cape without encountering any particular storm, we were very near meeting with a serious accident of another kind. One dark night, about ten o'clock, when the wind was fresh, a seaman of the forecastle watch came running aft,

exclaiming with much agitation, "A ship ahead!" We had scarcely heard these words before a large ship, running before the wind, passed our starboard bow. As she went swiftly by us, our yardarms almost touching, the Captain had just time to hail her, and to hear in reply, as we thought, the words "Superb" and "Amsterdam," from which we inferred that she was from Holland, and bound for Batavia. Here again we had reason to be thankful, for a few feet nearer, half a turn of the wheel of either ship, and both vessels must have gone to the bottom. The agitation of the sailor, and the difficulty he had in expressing himself, reminded me of a story which Captain Thomas once told at the cuddy table, relating to a ship under his command at the time, either as commander or chief officer of the watch, and which afforded another instance of the never-failing presence of mind of that excellent seamen. One of the sailors came suddenly upon deck from below, but such was his terror that he was unable to articulate a word. "Sing!" said the Captain, "Sing!" when the poor man sang out without any difficulty, "The cabin's on fire!" "The cabin's on fire!"; Captain Thomas, in his repetition, giving the man's song with excellent effect.

Passing the Cape so near the land we saw but few of the great albatrosses and other birds which had appeared on my way to India, these flying more to the south, for the sake, it was supposed, of the small fish or other food thrown up on the surface of the sea, in the storms which prevail there. Our course was now north-west, with variable winds, but principally from the south.

The first great division of the voyage being passed, the usual speculations took place as to the probable duration of the remainder. If not detained by calms at the line it was probable we should reach America in less than two months. About a fortnight after clearing the Cape the increasing unsteadiness of the wind denoted that we were upon the edge of the "Trade," and in a few days more, a fresh steady breeze from the south-east assured us of our having gained that much desired wind.

Our course was now in the direction of St. Helena. The ship remained under nearly the same sail for many days and nights together, going at the rate of seven or eight knots an hour, rolling from one side to the other, the wind being directly astern. This is called "rolling down to St. Helena," by the captains of Indiamen. On the 10th February, lat. 25 S., long. 5 E., we discovered, in the afternoon, a sail on our starboard beam. Though a great way off, as we were evidently steering the same way, there seemed a chance of our speaking, and it being supposed that she was bound to Europe, and probably to England, I began a letter to my father. The night, however, closed upon us without our approaching. The next morning the sail was still in sight, and nearly at the same distance from us. We therefore bore up a point, and soon perceived that she accepted our invitation to speak, by making a similar variation in her course towards us. In the afternoon we were within hail, when we found that the stranger was the American ship *Atlantic*, from China, and bound, like ourselves, to Philadelphia. We kept company during the night, but separated next day. As we had the advantage in sailing, we expected to reach America some days before her.

After re-passing the tropic of Capricorn, we continued our rolling course towards the north-west, and in ten days more passed the island of St. Helena, about, as we supposed, 100 miles to the west of it. The climate was now very agreeable. The south-east trade, which still blew fresh, tempered the heat of the sun, and kept the atmosphere at a pleasant temperature.

I now passed much of my time upon deck, reading, or walking, or playing at backgammon with the Captain, who was extremely fond of this game, and played it very well. In accordance with the serenity of the climate, and the evenness of our course, at this part of the voyage, was the orderly and cheerful character of the ship, everything between the Captain and officers and crew being conducted in the most good-tempered and amicable manner. The latter enjoyed a degree

of comfort which I had never seen on board a ship. Most of the men had a few private stores, and many of them took their tea in little parties about the forecastle. I was not surprised at these indulgences, for I had learned, soon after sailing, that the young men, whose genteel appearance I had noticed, were the sons of respectable families of Philadelphia and Baltimore, who had come to sea under Captain Ashmead, for the purpose of being instructed in navigation by this experienced seaman, preparatory to their being officers and captains themselves. While this system of harmony and decency was extremely agreeable, I could not perceive that it was less efficient, as regarded the duties of the ship, than the usual vulgar system of oppressive severity, called *discipline*. I had now been three months on board the *India*, and had not heard a threat used nor an oath uttered.

As we approached the equator, I again saw, with pleasure, the swift dolphin, the flying-fish, the gelatinous substance called a Portuguese man-of-war, and the elegant tropic bird. We one day enjoyed a more unusual sight, a party of large whales making their appearance at a short distance from the ship. They rolled about on the surface of the sea, amusing themselves, apparently, as well as us. I had once considered the spouting of whales as a fabulous exaggeration, but I distinctly saw and heard these fish spout up the sea to the height of several feet, with a considerable noise, or blowing. As they tumbled about for some time, not far from our larboard bow, the Captain was uneasy lest we should strike against them. But after keeping at the same distance from us for about an hour they plunged and disappeared.

The trade wind, which had favoured us some weeks, gradually declined as we drew near the equator. It did not, however, subside entirely, but took us a few degrees into the northern hemisphere, when the winds again became variable. We continued our north-western course through the northern tropic, leaving, on our left, the West-India Islands, and Gulf of Mexico.

We again saw a sail, a two-masted vessel. She was rather ahead, but lay-to for us to come up, when we perceived that her boat was out, rowing towards us. Our Captain lay-to for it to reach us, but observed that the brig might be a pirate, and that it would be prudent to be on our guard, while her boat was alongside, and her people on board. Looking at the boat through his telescope, he said he saw only five hands, but that there might be more, concealed under a tarpaulin, at the bottom. Upon this, he went down to his cabin, at the bottom of the ladder, and returned upon deck with a brace of large pistols, which he put into his coat pockets. For the old man was not a *Quaker* in any sense but one, and was resolved to be ready to repulse any hostile attack. I did not put my pistols into my pockets, for these were far from being so deep as those of the Captain; but they were ready, and in case of necessity, the father of the ship, as he was considered, would certainly have been well supported by every one of his family. When, however, the boat came alongside, it was obvious that it contained no more than the persons before visible. The steersman was therefore permitted to come on board. He was the Captain himself of the brig, which we now found was from Boston, but last from the Canary Islands, and bound to one of the southern ports of the United States. The Captain said he had had very stormy weather in crossing the Atlantic. When, at his request, we gave him our longitude, he was much surprised, as we were, when he communicated his, for there was a difference of many degrees between us. This extraordinary error was doubtless on his side, for Captain Ashmead was an excellent mathematician, possessed much nautical knowledge, and kept the ship's reckoning with great accuracy. Although, therefore, we had not had any point of departure since our soundings off the Cape, and the Captain of the brig had been much less time at sea, the mistake was ascribable to the dark weather he had experienced, and in some degree, it was probable, to the imperfection of his science, or of his instruments. He was fully satisfied of his having

greatly misconceived the situation of his ship, and allowed it was a fortunate circumstance that he had fallen in with us. Finding that we came from Bengal, he requested a few bags of rice, which were readily given him. In return, we applied to him for one or two articles, and I expressed a wish to buy a bag of sago, for my breakfast, and a few figs. As the boat was to return to our ship with these things, I went in her to the other vessel. The most remarkable circumstance I found on board was an extraordinary number of canary birds. The cabin was crowded with cages containing them. I afterwards understood that a considerable profit was obtained on the sale of these birds in the southern parts of the Union. I again recollected my mother's fancy, and should have procured a few of them, but for the probability of their perishing from want of proper care. I returned to the *India* with a small supply of sago and figs, when the vessels separated, and we continued our course towards the coast of America.

The only interesting occurrence in the remainder of the voyage was our crossing the Gulf Stream. I was surprised at seeing, one day, large quantities of seaweed round the ship, and the water changed from its usual appearance to a yellow colour. The waves also had a different form, exhibiting a peculiarity something like the rippling of a current. These signs denoted our arrival in the great current, called by navigators the "Gulf Stream," from its proceeding from the Gulf of Mexico. The common opinion is that this current is occasioned by the constant flow of the Mississippi river into the Mexican Gulf. This explanation, however, appears by no means satisfactory, since the volume of the stream, sixteen leagues in width, greatly exceeds that of the Mississippi. Another hypothesis considers it as the continuation of the current which sets round the Cape of Good Hope from the Indian seas, and, traversing the Atlantic Ocean, nearly in the line followed by our ship, enters the Gulf of Mexico, whence it re-enters the ocean *with* the waters of the Mississippi, and follows the American coast, till finally dissipated

in the northern seas. As we advanced towards the middle of the stream, the quantity of weed was prodigious, covering the surface of the water as far as we could see. This phenomenon was not interesting alone, but was useful, as verifying our position in respect to the American coast.

We soon had a great change of climate, the weather becoming more cold than I had felt it since leaving England. I could hardly keep myself warm day or night. But this inconvenience was welcome as another sign that the end of our voyage was nigh. On the 1st of April the lead was heaved but no bottom found. The Captain, however, ordered the ship to be kept under easy sail during the night, her head alternately to the north and south. The lead also was frequently heaved. These precautions were not premature, for the next morning, Saturday, the 2nd April, the leadsman proclaimed bottom. We lay-to that night, but the following day we again stood towards land, and I had the gratification of seeing the lighthouse at the entrance of Delaware Bay, after a prosperous voyage of less than four months from the mouth of the Ganges. Unfortunately no pilot appeared although our signal for one was kept flying. Our disappointment was the greater as the weather had a threatening appearance. Some dangerous shoals called the Nantucket Shoals seemed to give the Captain some uneasiness, and to increase his desire to get into port. He said that he had been more than sixty voyages from the Delaware, and was as capable as a pilot to take the ship into the bay, but that in case of accident, from whatever cause, the insurances would be void. In the evening, therefore, no pilot appearing, the ship's head was put off shore and we stood out to sea. Mortifying as this course was, its prudence was soon manifest, for in the night the threatening aspect of the weather ended in a gale of wind. We saw nothing around us next day, but kept the lead going lest the current should set us towards the land. In the afternoon the gale increased, and there was much bustle on board. The scantiness of the crew made it necessary for every one to lend a

hand on such an occasion. In consequence of an order given by the Captain to let go some rope near the stern, I ran aft and did what was necessary. At this moment the rope which held the great spanker-boom to windward gave way, and this spar, with the sail upon it, immediately fell down to leeward with prodigious force. The Captain said that when he saw me between the falling boom and the ship's side he thought my destruction inevitable. When, however, the boom had arrived within three or four feet of the side against which I was leaning, it was stopped by a thick block projecting from the stern rail. I never perhaps had a more providential escape.

A heavy fall of rain the second night having abated the violence of the wind, the next morning—Tuesday, the 5th April, —at daybreak, we were again able to set sail on the ship and stand towards the coast. We were this time more fortunate. A sail was perceived, and the Captain soon pronounced her to be a pilot making towards us. When sufficiently near he came on board in a small skiff belonging to his diminutive vessel. For this was not a schooner, as in the Bengal river, but merely a stout-decked boat, resembling a large fishing-boat. The pilot having taken charge of us we proceeded directly towards the mouth of the Delaware river. In the afternoon we again saw the lighthouse, and passing it early in the evening entered Delaware Bay, having on our left Cape Henlopen, on which the lighthouse stood, and on our right Cape May. The distance between the two capes was said to be fifteen miles, though appearing much less. Within them the bay gradually widened to about twenty-four miles. We passed near many shoals, particularly "Big Shoal," on which the depth of water varied from six to ten feet. On our right we had the State of New Jersey; on our left that of Delaware. Both shores appeared low and flat, but on arriving in the new world I felt an interest in everything I beheld that supplied the want of picturesque attractions. I spent the whole day upon deck asking questions

and looking about me. A little before dark we came to anchor near a large buoy, called the Buoy of the Brown.

6*th April.*—I was early on deck expecting the ship to get under weigh to mount the river, but the pilot said the tide would not be favourable for some hours. While we were at anchor several vessels and fishing-boats from Philadelphia passed us on their way to sea. We weighed soon after twelve o'clock. For some time we were near a vessel from England, also bound to Philadelphia. The captains hailed each other, and afterwards exchanged newspapers by throwing a line, having a small piece of lead at the end, on board the other ship, and then drawing it backwards and forwards with the papers attached to it. We steered generally in six or eight fathoms and nearly in the middle of the bay, which gradually contracted into the Delaware river, so called after the Earl of Delaware, who settled in this part of the American continent early in the seventeenth century. A river of such magnitude and importance, and which bore the metropolis of a great nation upon its banks, seemed to claim a more dignified name than the title of an adventurous nobleman. In this respect India had been more fortunate. *There,* the British conquerors and settlers not having had the pretension and bad taste to change the ancient names of the country for their own, Plassey was not called "Clive," nor Buxar "Munro"; while the Ganges, the Burrampooter and the Saone retained, with no material corruption, the sacred orthography of the remotest ages.

We continued to mount the river, passing between Brown's and Brandywine Shoal. On our left we passed the town of Dover, one of the principal towns of the Delaware State. Though Capes May and Henlopen, on the shore of the Atlantic, seemed to mark the commencement of the Delaware—the space called the *bay* being merely an expanded reach of the river itself—this nevertheless was not considered as beginning till we had passed Bombay Hook, twenty miles *above* the Capes. Here the width was about three miles. On the Jersey side we

passed Stony Point and the small town of Salem. Twenty miles above Bombay Point we came to Reedy Island, and anchored for the night at Port Penn. This seemed to be the Gravesend of the Delaware, being the usual rendezvous of ships before entering the Atlantic. The direction of our course to-day had been about north-west.

7th April.—It was late again to-day before the tide would allow us to move. Our course to-day was extremely pleasant, the river becoming more picturesque as it became more contracted. We passed several small islands, the principal of which was Delaware Island; and the considerable town of Newcastle, on the western shore, formerly called Stockholm, having been founded by the Swedes, and later, New Amsterdam, upon its passing into the possession of the Dutch. It is considered the oldest European settlement on the Delaware. Its situation, about half way between Philadelphia and the sea, is evidently very advantageous and must ensure it a large share of the commercial prosperity of the capital. It may be safely predicted that its population will increase more during the next twenty years than in the one hundred and fifty which have elapsed since its establishment.

A few miles higher we saw, also on our left, the large town of Wilmington, pleasantly situated on an eminence, at some distance from the river, but commanding, apparently, a view of every sail passing upon it. I understood that it was the largest town of the Delaware State. We next came to Marcus Hook (also on the western shore); to a succession of low islands; to the mouth of the Schuylkyl, with Fort Miffin opposite to it, on the Jersey side, and soon after discovered Philadelphia itself, situated on the right or western bank of the Delaware. Though not presenting the splendour, nor majesty, nor venerable antiquity of some cities I had seen, not exhibiting the palaces of Calcutta, nor the temples of Benares, nor the marble domes and minarets of Agra and Dehli, its appearance was most gratifying to me, as the city founded by Penn, as the seat of the

American Government, and the termination of my voyage. Having passed several ships, the *India* entered the line, and took her station along one of the wharfs, which extended nearly the whole length of the city, and in a few minutes I *stepped ashore* without even the aid of a plank, the ship's side touching the wharf.

It being evening, when many people were about, the quay was crowded with persons curious to witness an arrival from Bengal. Having first gratified my own curiosity by looking at the lookers-on, and made a few turns up and down the wharf, enjoying the great pleasure of treading once more on firm ground, after a long confinement to a ship, I was setting off with my trunk to a tavern, when Mr. Pringle, the purser, stopped me with a pressing invitation to accompany him to the house of Mr. Lewis, one of the owners of the *India*.

This worthy citizen received me very kindly, saying, "How dost thou do, friend? I am glad to see thee"; for he was, in the phraseology of Philadelphia, one of the Society of Friends, that is to say, a Quaker. He introduced me to Mrs. Lewis and his daughters, who received me with the same salutation, "I am glad to see thee, friend; I hope thou art well." I drank tea with these good people, in whom I found a kindness which the simplicity of their manners seemed to make the more cordial. The safe arrival of their ship at a favourable market put all the family in good spirits. After tea I went to the house of Mr. Bingham, intending to go afterwards to the London Tavern, but Mrs. Lewis insisted upon my returning to sleep at her house; "Thou wilt sleep here, friend; thy bed shall be ready for thee." Mr. Bingham, to whom Mr. Pringle introduced me, was the principal person in Philadelphia, and the wealthiest, probably, in the Union. His house stood alone, and occupied, with the gardens attached to it, a spacious piece of ground It was by far the handsomest residence in the city. I found here a large party. Besides Mr. and Mrs. Bingham and their two daughters, were Count de Noailles, Count Tilley, Mr. Alexander

Baring, and others. After supper, I returned to the house of Mr. Lewis, and was conducted to a handsome chamber, the centre of which was occupied by a square bed, with curtains all round it, in the English manner. There could not be a fairer promise of a good night's rest. After, however, I had slept an hour, I heard a person undressing behind the curtains, although there was no other bed in the room than that which I had supposed to belong exclusively to me. But this opinion was soon changed, for the stranger, having put out the light, drew back the curtains, and placed himself at my side. Sleeping ill with another person even in the same *room*, I would much rather have had Mrs. Lewis's bed, ample as it was, to myself; but I inferred that the arrangement which had taken place was one of the peculiar customs of the country, and that in America, when a stranger was invited to pass the night with his host, it was never meant to give him the whole of a bed. When the light of the morning shone upon the features of my companion, whose face should I see but Mr. Pringle's. Though surprised to find that the purser had slept so near me, I felt that I could not reasonably complain, for as his attentions had procured me this bed, no one certainly had so fair a claim to half of it as himself.

8*th*.—The next morning, after breakfast, I took a lodging at the principal hotel in Philadelphia, called the London Tavern, but found it so deficient in comfort that I sallied forth in search of better quarters. I asked a person in the street where the Members of Congress put up when they arrived from the different states, and was told that many of them lived together in a house in Fourth Street, kept by an old Frenchman named Francis. I thought it would be very desirable to be admitted into this house, or rather into this society. I accordingly walked immediately to Fourth Street, and found old Mr. Francis and his American wife sitting together in a small dark room at the end of the passage. I did not at first know who Mrs. Francis was, for she appeared too tall and handsome to be the

old man's daughter, and too young to be his wife. Mr. Francis, who seemed to have lost the politeness of his own country, said, without stirring from his chair, or scarcely raising his head, that his house was not a tavern, but a private house for the reception of Members of Congress, of whom it was now full. I mentioned that I was a stranger in America, being just arrived from the East Indies. The little old man regarded me with a look of surprise as I said this, but repeated, in a tone of diminished repugnance almost amounting to civil regret, that his house was full. I was about to return to my indifferent lodging at the London Tavern, when Mrs. Francis reminded her husband of a small room at the top of the house, which I might occupy for a day or two, when a chamber next to the one occupied by the Vice-President would be disengaged. The mention of the Vice-President excited my attention, and the idea of being placed so near him at once obtained my assent to Mrs. Francis's proposal; and the old man also expressed his concurrence, or rather allowed his wife to make what arrangement she pleased. I immediately brought my trunk from the London Tavern, and placed it in my temporary apartment. I observed that the maidservant who assisted in getting it up a steep and narrow staircase was a negress, or rather a mulatto, the first human being of this race that I had seen. She was young, active, and obliging, and spoke English. She was the *property*, I understood, of Mr. Francis, who had *bought* her some time before, and might of course *sell* her whenever he pleased. This was the first instance of slavery I had ever seen, and it caused me both pain and surprise to meet with it in the country which so boasted of the freedom of its institutions.

At dinner to-day I met several members of the two Houses of Congress, and thought them most amiable, sensible men. The seat at the head of the table was reserved for the Vice-President, Mr. Adams, but he did not come to dinner. In the evening Mrs. Francis made tea for nearly the same party. Considering that I had arrived in America only the day before, that I had no intro-

duction to any one, that there was not a good hotel in the city, and that the general usages of the country did not, as in India, supply this deficiency, I thought myself fortunate in being already established in the most respectable society of the United States. Mr. Bingham, the President of the Pennsylvanian State, not only gave me a general invitation to his house, but offered to take care of my great sheep during my stay in America. This fine animal had arrived in perfect health, as had my Santipore cow, but my Cashmirean goat, which was very sickly when we left India, had died shortly before we reached the Delaware.

The negress being engaged in arranging my chamber, my curiosity to see an American play led me to the theatre. The play was the *Miser*, followed by the *Jubilee*. I took my place in the front boxes, paying nearly the same price as in England.

9th April.—I breakfasted this morning at the public table, at which Madame Francis presided. Several members of both Houses were present. Mrs. Francis helped me to some of the celebrated buckwheat cake, whose excellence had been the subject of much commendation during our voyage. It takes its name from the species of wheat of which it is made, and in size and appearance resembles the English crumpet, and it is dressed in the same manner, being first toasted and then buttered. But it is superior to the crumpet or muffin, having the peculiar taste of the buckwheat which is extremely agreeable, rendering it the most esteemed article of an American breakfast. This meal was, in other respects, very abundant and sumptuous, comprising tea, coffee, hot rolls, toast, eggs, ham, and joints of cold meat. It appeared the English breakfast of former days, with tea and its accompaniments added to it.

After this I called at Mr. Bingham's, where I found my doombah grazing upon the garden lawn at the back of the house. While I was looking at it with Mr. Bingham, several inhabitants of the city came to gratify their curiosity, for Mr. Bingham having observed this, had ordered that everybody should

be admitted, and considerable numbers had already come to the garden in consequence. My Bengal cow, which I found in a stable not far off, also had numerous visitors. Among the curiosities which I brought from India was an oyster-shell of extraordinary size and weight, exceeding 100 lbs. It was the bottom shell alone, and had been found amongst a heap of oyster-shells at Madras. The mark of the oyster was visible upon the discoloured surface of the inside, and showed that the fish had nearly filled the entire cavity. This curiosity I presented to the National Museum, where it was very graciously accepted.

I called upon Mr. Bond, the British Consul and temporary representative of the British Government in the absence of the Envoy. He asked me many questions about India, and said he must introduce me to General Washington. He invited me to spend that evening with him.

On returning to my lodging in Fourth Street, I found the negro girl bringing my things downstairs from the garret. She told me, with much pleasure, that she was taking them to a room on the first floor, which her mistress had ordered for me. This I found to be a very good chamber, with two windows looking into a court behind the house. In a room adjoining, and nearly similar, was Mr. Adams, the Vice-President of the United States.

Soon after I was installed in my new quarters, Mr. Alexander Baring, and his brother, Mr. Henry Baring, called upon me. I thought the former a clever, well-informed young man.[1] He was, I understood, come to America on account of Messrs. Hope's house, of Amsterdam, to purchase a large tract of land in the province of Maine, belonging to Mr. Bingham. I knew his brother in Bengal, the eldest son of Sir Francis Baring. He had married one of my fellow passengers in the *Ponsborne*, granddaughter of Captain Thornhill.

[1] My acquaintance with Mr. A. Baring, now Lord Ashburton, has since been kept up. He always refers to our first meetings with much apparent satisfaction.

I dined to-day with the Members of Congress. Mr. Adams took the chair always reserved for him at the head of the table, though himself superior to all sense of superiority. He appeared to be about sixty years of age. In person he was rather short and thick; in his manner, somewhat cold and reserved, as the citizens of Massachusetts, his native state, are said generally to be. His presence caused a general feeling of respect, but the modesty of his demeanour and the tolerance of his opinions excluded all inconvenient restraint. He was generally dressed in a light or drab-coloured coat, and had the appearance rather of an English country gentleman who had seen little of the world, than of a statesman who had seen so much of public life. He began his career at the bar of the Royal Courts of Boston, where he was said to have gained popularity by his eloquence, and esteem by his integrity and independence; but it is probable that the great powers of his mind, like those of Washington and other patriots, would have remained unknown if the Revolution had not brought them into notice. He was chosen by his countrymen to represent them in the first National Congress assembled at Philadelphia in the year 1774, the year before the commencement of open hostilities by the battle of Bunker's Hill, and during the war which followed he was associated with Franklin in the mission of the latter to the Court of France. He was also employed in diplomatic negotiations with England and Holland. I was told that the troubles of his country had drawn from his pen some publications, in which his patriotism and his talents were equally conspicuous. Knowing few greater pleasures than that of listening to the conversation of great and virtuous men, I was always glad when I saw Mr. Adams enter the room and take his place at our table. Indeed, to behold this distinguished man, the future President of his country, occupying the chair of the Senate in the morning, and afterwards walking home through the streets and taking his seat amongst his fellow citizens, as their equal, conversing amicably with men over whom he had just presided,

and perhaps checked and admonished, was a singular spectacle, and a striking exemplification of the state of society in America at this period.

I drank tea, and spent the evening, with the English *chargé d'affaires*. There was a large party of ladies and gentlemen, all Americans. The reception was in a large room upstairs, resembling in every respect an English drawing-room. The company sat round a wood-fire, placed in a shining grate. In the middle of the circle, after tea and coffee had been served round, figured the Consul himself, descanting on various subjects, public and private, as well as public and private characters, sometimes with unbecoming levity, sometimes with sarcasm still more unbecoming. The opinions he expressed could hardly fail to be offensive to the sentiments of many of his guests, and to the good taste of all. I was surprised at behaviour so undignified, and felt some shame at seeing the representative of my country playing the part of a political mountebank before many of the principal persons of the American metropolis.

Sunday, 10*th April*.—I went this forenoon to hear the celebrated Dr. Priestley preach. The chapel, though spacious, was so crowded that I was obliged to stand near the door, and could only judge of the Doctor's eloquence by the pleasure it seemed to afford his hearers.

I dined and drank tea with Mr. Bingham, met the Count de Noailles, Count Tilley, the celebrated Monsr. Volney, the two Messrs. Barings, and several members of the Senate and House of Representatives—in all a very large party. Mr. Volney, next whom I sat at dinner, was very inquisitive about India. Mr. Alexander Baring, who sat nearly opposite to me, took a leading part in the general conversation. After tea, the Count de Noailles undertook to introduce me to Dr. Ross, an English physician, who would, he said, have much pleasure in seeing me. The Doctor, it appeared, was distinguished rather as a literary character than as a physician, not *practising* as such,

though giving his gratuitous assistance to his countrymen and friends. This introduction proved very agreeable, and confirmed the favourable accounts I had received of the Doctor from the Count and others.

Monday, 11*th*.—Called this morning upon the Barings. Found them fencing together. After my return home I received a visit from Mr. Bond. He called to let me know that General Washington would hold a levee the next day, when he would introduce me to him. He said he would call upon me and take me with him, and begged me to be ready at the time fixed. Dr. Ross also called upon me, and was extremely civil. He invited me to dine with him the next day. Dined with the Vice-President and Members of Congress. In the evening, went to the play, *All in the Wrong*.

Tuesday, 12*th*.—After partaking of Mrs. Francis's buckwheat cakes, I put my head into the hands of the hairdresser. I had still preserved in its original length and fulness the *pigtail*, as it was called, with which I had left England, the democratic *crop* of the French Revolution not having yet reached India. I doubted, indeed, whether *style* of dress was required by the forms of the republican court at which I was about to appear; but as much of the attention I received seemed to be on account of my coming from India, I thought it as well to be presented in the costume of an Indian court. When dressed, I joined the Members of Congress in the public room, to wait for Mr. Bond. While conversing with these gentlemen, expecting the British *chargé* every minute, the negress entered, and delivered to me a note from this officer to say that important public business had suddenly made it impossible for him to attend the levee that day. I regretted this circumstance the more, because I was likely to leave Philadelphia before the next levee.

Scarcely had I resumed my common dress before Dr. Ross called. He said, that knowing that Dr. Priestley would be glad to see me, he called to accompany me to him. Disappointed of seeing one great man that morning, I considered myself fortunate

in being thus introduced to another. I willingly, therefore, accepted the Doctor's obliging offer, and set out with him for Dr. Priestley's house in High Street.

High Street is considered the principal street in Philadelphia, although Broad Street, which crosses it towards its upper end, exceeds it somewhat in width. It runs perpendicularly from the river, or from east to west, and divides the city into two parts, nearly equal. The streets, which run in the line of the river, or from north to south, all cut High Street, and, of course, all the streets parallel to it, at right angles. The width of High Street is 100 feet; that of all the others, with the exception of Broad Street, about fifty. All the streets being equidistant from each other, it is evident that their intersection forms the houses comprised between them into square masses of equal dimensions. Such is the simple but monotonous plan of Philadelphia, as laid down by its founder, William Penn, towards the end of the seventeenth century. The streets resemble many of the smaller streets of London, excepting that the foot-pavement on each side is of brick instead of stone. The houses also are built with red brick, and have generally a shop on the first floor, and two or three windows in the stories above. The streets and houses thus resembling each other, having scarcely any difference in their appearance, excepting the accidental dissimilarity arising from the shops, produce a sameness wearying to the eye, and often embarrassing to a stranger, who can hardly tell when it is too dusk to read the names at the corners, whether he is in "Third" or "Fourth Street," "Chestnut" or "Walnut." For the nomenclature adopted by old Penn when he made his streets was as unusual as many other parts of his plan, and by aiming at extreme simplicity produced eccentricity rather than convenience, confusion rather than clearness. Thus, the first street from the Delaware was called "First Street"; the succeeding ones "Second," "Third," "Fourth," "Fifth," "Sixth," and so on, as far as Broad Street, halfway between the Delaware and the Schuylkyl. Beyond

this line they were numbered in a similar way from the latter river towards the Delaware, the streets of the same number on the two sides of the line of separation being distinguished by the name of the *river* to which they belonged, as "Delaware First Street," "Schuylkyl First Street," "Delaware Fifth Street," "Schuylkyl Fifth Street," etc. This inconvenient arrangement seems to have been adopted on the supposition that the two sides of the city would be constructed simultaneously from the respective water fronts. This, however, was not the case; for the Delaware, offering much greater facilities for navigation, the city has been extended far beyond its intended limits, along the banks of this river, north and south, while no buildings have been commenced on the banks of the Schuylkyl to the present time (1796). Some streets, however, have been begun on the Schuylkyl side of Broad Street; and there can be no doubt that they will, in a few years more, reach that river. Whenever that may be the case, the inconvenience of having two sets of streets bearing the same names will probably be manifest, and may lead to a change less repugnant to custom and good taste. It is harsh enough for a stranger's ear to hear "Thirteenth Street," (the last next the midway division), without the distinction of "Delaware Thirteenth Street," or "Delaware Thirteenth," which will be necessary when the remaining or Schuylkyl half of the city shall be built. The names given to the other streets, those which run from the Delaware towards the Schuylkyl, are scarcely less whimsical, the principal *trees* of America having been chosen for this purpose, and thus forming Chestnut, Walnut, Pine, Cedar, Mulberry, Spruce, *Sassafras*, Streets. The distance between the two rivers is about two miles, over a level plain.

Proceeded to Dr. Priestley's house in the upper part of High Street, in a row of small houses between Sixth and Seventh Streets, remarkable for their pleasant appearance, standing back a few yards from the footpath, and having small gardens, separated by painted rails, before them. I had not seen such an

appearance of neatness and comfort since my arrival in Philadelphia, and experienced pleasure in finding that it was here that the English philosopher, the benefactor of his country and of mankind, by his discoveries in useful science, had taken up his abode. Having passed through the garden of one of the first houses, the door was soon opened by a female servant, who, saying that the Doctor was at home, conducted us into a small room by the side of the passage, looking towards the street. Here I expected to see the Doctor, but found only his sister, who desired the maid to let her master know that Dr. Ross was come. In a few minutes the Doctor, having quitted, probably, his studies, entered the room, and I was at once relieved from the sort of uneasiness which precedes an introduction to a great man, his countenance being exceedingly mild and good-natured, and his manner no less easy and conciliating. His person, short and slender, his age, apparently about sixty, and his unaffected cheerfulness, at once reminded me of my Uncle Thomas—an impression that increased during the remainder of my visit.

Dr. Ross, in his friendly zeal, introduced me somewhat in the style of a showman at a country fair: "Mr. Twining—just arrived from Bengal—a great traveller on the Ganges—has been received by the Great Mogol," etc. The Doctor, his simplicity unchanged by this recital, received me with hearty kindness. He placed me near the fire, and took a chair by my side. I soon found that he was as inquisitive as Dr. Ross had represented him to be. Fortunately his inquiries were directed to such subjects respecting India as were familiar to me, such as the castes, customs, and character of the inhabitants; climate, productions, etc. Passing from general to particular questions, he wished to have a description of the couvre-capelle; and the numbers of this deadly snake which I had seen at Santipore enabled me to gratify his curiosity upon this point. I described also the mungoos, and the battle which I had seen between this animal and a couvre-capelle. He asked me about a particular fish, and about a particular property it possessed. I fortunately

knew this, had *eaten* it, and remarked the peculiarity he alluded to.

The Doctor related, in his turn, many anecdotes, here further reminding me, by his playfulness and good humour, of my learned uncle. He had a way, when telling his stories, of asking you to *guess* how a thing happened, saying, "Now, sir, how do you think this was?" waiting a few moments for an answer. Among other things, he spoke of the great sheep in Mr. Bingham's garden, expressing his intention of seeing it, and then alluded to the great improvement lately made by Mr. Bakewell of Leicestershire in the breed and management of animals. He said he once visited Mr. Bakewell, who showed him his improved race of sheep, and his fine bulls, remarkable for their size and symmetry. He saw two of these animals grazing peaceably in the same pasture. "I can," said Mr. Bakewell, "immediately make these bulls as furious as they are now quiet, and again make them friends." "And how," said the Doctor, addressing himself to me,—"how, sir, do you think this was done? Why, sir, Mr. Bakewell ordered one of his men to drive a cow into the field, and the two bulls rushed at each other, and fought with the greatest fierceness. While they were thus engaged, the cow was driven out of the field, and the two champions grazed together quietly as before."

The Doctor having expressed a desire to see the skin of my shawl goat, it was settled that he would call the next day, and accompany me on board the *India*. I now took leave, much gratified with this personal introduction to a celebrated man, of whom I had heard a great deal when a boy at school, his system of chemistry,—his phlogiston and anti-phlogiston, and fixed air, —then making much noise, and leading to various experiments upon balloons, etc., in which boys at that time, and I amongst others, took a part.

Upon separating from Dr. Ross I went to the house where the Congress held its meetings, situated in Chestnut Street. It is a large and handsome building, occupying the area of an

extensive court, by the side of the street. Two folding doors, accessible to everybody, led me, at once, into the hall of the National Representatives, who were then sitting, and engaged in debate. I stood in the space reserved for strangers, between the entrance and the low partition which separates it from the part occupied by the members. This space was small, and without seats. I was surprised to find so little accommodation for the public, in a country where the public was supposed to be especially considered. There might possibly be more room allotted to strangers in another part of the hall, but I did not observe any visitors, excepting such as stood near me. These being but few, I was able to advance at once to the partition. From this point I had an uninterrupted view of every part of the hall—I may say, of every member of the Assembly, for one of the advantages of this handsome room is, that the whole of it is visible from every part.

The subject of debate, when I entered, was the budget, and Mr. Gallatin was speaking. Mr. Gallatin is a native of France or Switzerland, but had long resided in America, and was now a naturalised citizen of the Republic. He was one of the principal members of the opposition, or of the anti-federal or democratic party, as opposed to the federal system, of which General Washington was the head. Although a slow and rather embarrassed delivery, as well as a peculiarity of accent, showed that Mr. Gallatin did not speak his native language, his speech discovered great acuteness, and the deep knowledge of the finances of the United States for which he was especially distinguished. His strong opposition to the measures of Government, and his democratical opinions, had lately drawn upon him the quills of Peter Porcupine, a satiric writer, who at this time attracted much attention in America by his opposition, in a popular, sarcastic style, to the opposers of the existing constitution. This writer, however, was not an American subject, but the Englishman who has since been so much less advantageously known, in his own country, by his real name of

William Cobbett. Mr. Gallatin was only three or four yards to the right of where I stood. His profile from this point, the thin, sharp outline of a Frenchman's face, his inclined attitude towards the President as he addressed him, and the slow perpendicular movement of his right arm, "sawing the air," formed a portrait which the occasional appearance of his name in public affairs always brings to my remembrance. Mr. Madison, an eloquent and much respected member, also spoke from his seat, a little to the right of the President; and Mr. William Smith, member for Baltimore, one of our party in Fourth Street, who defended the measures of Government, repelling the animadversions of Mr. Gallatin with much wit and severity. I recollect a few of his sarcastic phrases.

From the hall of the Representatives, I went to that of the Senate, or Upper Chamber, analogous, in its position in the state, to the British House of Peers. Mr. Adams, as Vice-President of the United States, presided over this Assembly. He was seated in a raised recess on one side of the hall, which was oblong, and much smaller than that of the Representatives. The public was admitted to a raised gallery, which extended the whole length of the side opposite the President. Here, also, I heard some good speaking, though the chief orators are in the other chamber. In both Assemblies the members had desks before them, on which they took notes, and laid their papers; but their speeches were extempore.

I dined with Dr. Ross. He received me in his study, up a very narrow staircase. The walls of the room were entirely covered with books. The Doctor introduced me to Mr. Wollstonecraft, related to the authoress of that name, to Dr. or Mr. Boulman, a distinguished Irishman, and to Mr. Cooper, a young American who had recently made himself known by his writings. Mr. Dallas, an eminent English barrister, was expected, but sent a note to say he was prevented from coming. Dinner being ready, we descended to a room under the study. Mr. Cooper and the Doctor's other guests asked many questions about the

Hindoos, the Ganges, the cities and monuments I had seen in the northern parts of my tour, and the languages. The Doctor's announcement that I spoke three languages of India, though there was nothing extraordinary in the fact, seemed to cause some surprise. After dinner Mr. Dallas came. He expressed particular interest about India, in which country some of his family had resided. It was late in the evening before this party, containing some of the most clever men in Philadelphia, broke up. Although I had experienced some disappointment in not being introduced to General Washington in the morning, I had, through the polite attentions of Dr. Ross, passed a most pleasant day.

13*th April.*—Breakfasted, as usual, with the Members of Congress, with whom I was now upon easy terms. As we stood round the fire, one of these gentlemen, Mr. Gallatin, examined the ends of my muslin neckcloth, and much surprise was expressed when I mentioned the cost at Santipore. Many questions were asked me respecting the qualities and prices of the fabrics of India, and it is not impossible that the lowness of the latter suggested the idea of a profitable speculation, the object of almost every American at this period.

The Vice-President always breakfasted in his own room. He had brought a manservant with him from Boston, but the negress had the care of his chamber. This poor girl being the only servant in the house, served everybody and did everything. Her activity and cheerful diligence were surprising.

In the forenoon Dr. Priestley called. He was accompanied by his son, who also had a desire to see the skin of my shawl goat. I accordingly set out with the great chemist and his son Joseph. We continued along Fourth Street till we came to Orchard Street, one of the streets perpendicular to the Delaware, and turning down it arrived at the wharf at which the *India* was discharging her cargo. The Doctor noticed the skin of my poor goat with much interest, turning back the long hair, and examining the downy wool beneath with much attention. He

seemed to have been previously impressed with the common belief that the Cashmire shawl was made from the ordinary wool of a particular race of sheep, and not from the remarkable substance he now saw, or the produce of a goat. The Doctor being a zealous searcher of truth and fact, was evidently gratified with this discovery; while, having failed in my attempt to take the demonstration of an important problem to my own country, it was gratifying to me to be able to communicate it to the chief naturalist of America. I thought I could not dispose of this curiosity better than by placing it in his possession. I accordingly requested the Doctor to allow one of the sailors to carry it to his house. Although he yielded to this proposal with reluctance, I had the satisfaction of perceiving that it afforded him pleasure.

As we returned through the city I was desirous of learning if the Doctor was satisfied with his situation in a country which possessed no man eminent for science since the days of Franklin. He expressed himself satisfied with the attention he had received from the American Government, which had offered him the professorship of chemistry. He spoke with regard of Dr. Ross, whose society apparently best supplied the loss of Franklin, of Bishop Watson, and Doctors Parr and Price, the friends of the Doctor's earlier life. But it was evident that his satisfaction with America, which had received him, had not effaced his attachment to his native country, which had banished him. For Dr. Priestley, diverted unfortunately from his philosophical pursuits by the French Revolution, became by his imprudence one of the victims of that unsparing explosion. Quitting the paths of science, he engaged in the political and metaphysical discussions of that troubled period, and was soon swept away by the violence of a storm, which, but for this needless exposure, would have passed over him. The infuriated mob of Birmingham, a place fostered by practical science and enriched by the useful arts, broke into his house, pillaged his extensive library, burnt his valuable manuscripts, and the notes of his unpublished

observations, and destroyed his philosophical apparatus. These lamentable acts determined the Doctor to retire to America. Still it was so evidently his desire to return to England whenever the passions of the moment should have subsided, that I determined to ascertain on my arrival in London how far such a step would be expedient.

14*th April.*—Hearing that the *Vermont* was about to sail for England, I write by her to my father. Wishing to see a few of the other principal cities of America, as well as something of the country, I decided upon an excursion as far as Baltimore, south of Philadelphia, and eventually to Washington, the contemplated metropolis of the United States, situated on the Potomac. At the latter place I should find an East Indian, Mr. Law, formerly of the Bengal Civil Establishment. Returning to England, the want of occupation there induced him to visit America. At that time the plan of building a new metropolis, to bear the name of Washington, was under consideration, and excited much speculation. Mr. Law had become acquainted with one of the proprietors of the land selected for the site of the new city, and confiding in an Act of Congress already passed for the transfer of the seat of government, had made a considerable purchase of ground from this person. It was, however, considered an adventure of much risk, for doubt was entertained not only whether, in case of General Washington's death, the proposed change would take place, but whether the removal of the seat of government would carry with it the augmentation of commerce and population which Mr. Law anticipated, and which was essential to the success of his speculation. I this afternoon took my place in the stage-waggon for Baltimore for the following morning.

15*th.*—At ten this morning the negro girl took my portmanteau under her arm, and accompanied me to the mail-waggon office. At half-past ten the waggon started up High Street, passing before the window of Dr. Priestley. The vehicle was a long car with four benches. Three of these in the interior held

nine passengers, and a tenth passenger was seated by the side of the driver on the front bench. A light roof was supported by eight slender pillars, four on each side. Three large leather curtains suspended to the roof, one at each side and the third behind, were rolled up or lowered at the pleasure of the passengers. There was no place nor space for luggage, each person being expected to stow his things as he could under his seat or legs. The entrance was in front, over the driver's bench. Of course the three passengers on the back seat were obliged to crawl across all the other benches to get to their places. There were no *backs* to the benches to support and relieve us during a rough and fatiguing journey over a newly and ill-made road. It would be unreasonable to expect perfection in the arrangements of a new country; but though this rude conveyance was not without its advantages, and was really more suitable to the existing state of American roads than an English stage-coach would have been, it might have been rendered more convenient in some respects without much additional expense. Thus a mere strap behind the seats would have been a great comfort, and the ponderous leather curtains, which extended the whole length of the waggon, would have been much more convenient, *divided* into two or three parts, and with a glass, however small, in each division to give light to the passengers in bad weather, and enable them to have a glimpse of the country. The disposal of the luggage also was extremely incommodious, not only to the owner, but to his neighbours.

We were quite full, having ten passengers besides the driver. Upon leaving the city we entered immediately upon the country, the transition from streets to fields being abrupt, and not rendered gradual by detached houses and villas, as in the vicinity of London. The fields, however, had nothing pleasing about them, being crossed and separated by the numerous intersections of the intended streets, and surrounded by large rough-hewed rails, placed zigzag, instead of hedges. We soon reached the Schuylkyl, a small river which descends from the Kittatany mountains,

in the back part of Pennsylvania, and enters the Delaware seven miles below Philadelphia, after a course of about 120 miles. We crossed it upon a floating bridge, constructed of logs of wood placed by the side of each other upon the surface of the water, and planks nailed across them. Although this bridge *floated* when not charged, or charged but lightly, the weight of our waggon depressed it several inches below the surface, the horses splashing through the water, so that a foot passenger passing at the same time would have been exposed to serious inconvenience. The roughness and imperfection of this construction on the principal line of road in America, and not a mile from the seat of government, afforded the most striking instance I had yet seen of the little progress the country had hitherto made in the improvements of civilisation. The existence of such a bridge seemed the more surprising, as it completely obstructed the navigation of the river, which would otherwise, I was told, admit small craft as high as Reading, nearly eighty miles farther up. I mention this instance of backwardness, and other deficiencies of a similar kind, not as a reproach to America, but as singular facts, exemplifying the difficulties and necessarily slow advancement of a new country. I believe there is no nation that would have done more in so short a time, and most nations would assuredly have done infinitely less. The transplanted branch of the British oak had already taken root, and displayed the vigour and strength of the parent stock. It was flattering to an Englishman to see the intelligence, energy, and enterprise which were manifest. Everywhere the progress of improvement was visible; everything had advanced, and was advancing. The bridge of planks and logs had probably succeeded a more insecure boat, and would certainly in a few years be replaced by arches of brick or stone.

The sloping banks of the Schuylkyl appeared to offer delightful situations for villas and country houses, whenever the wealth and taste of the citizens of Philadelphia should lead them to the imitation of European indulgence, unless the extension

of the city to the river should cover its borders with wharfs and warehouses, thus realising the original design of William Penn.

A little beyond the bridge we came to a turnpike gate, the first I had seen since leaving England. It was interesting on this account, and further so, as showing that America had adopted a custom of the mother country which Adam Smith cites as one of the most equitable examples of taxation, the traveller paying for an evident convenience and in proportion as he enjoys it. It was probable that the tax collected here, or a part of it, was employed in securing the logs and planks of the bridge, or in replacing such as were carried away by the current—an accident which seemed likely to occur frequently.

The country now became hilly in some degree, and from the days of my journey in Scotland I was fond of hills. These were neither long nor high, but they presented some steep declivities, down which the waggon descended at a great rate, for not only was it unprovided with a drag to keep it back, but it seemed to be the principle of American driving to go as fast as possible downhill in order to make up for the slowness inevitable on all other parts of the road. This road being newly and roughly formed, furrowed with ruts, and strewed with large stones which had been separated from the mould or gravel, the jolting of the waggon in these rapid descents was almost insupportable, and even drew forth many a hard exclamation from my companions, accustomed to it as they were. At first our rapidity on these occasions, with a steep declivity, without rail or fence of any sort on one side, seemed to be attended with no trifling degree of danger; but I soon found that the driver managed his four active little horses with all the skill of an English coachman, although he had little the appearance of one, having neither his hat on one side, nor his great coat, nor his boots, but a coarse blue jacket, worsted stockings, and thick shoes.

When eight miles from Philadelphia we passed through the small village of Derby, and in about as many more reached Chester, the end of the first stage. An English traveller is at first surprised to find the villages, often clumps of houses, of America bearing the names of the great towns or cities of England, although the latter, probably, had a beginning equally unimportant and diminutive. The country we had passed through since leaving the Schuylkyl was, for the most part, cleared of its ancient woods, at least near the line of our road, and cultivation had commenced; but the surface of the land was entangled with the roots of trees, and covered with stones which the plough had recently exposed to the light for the first time, and with clods of earth not yet broken. All the enclosures were formed in the manner already described—that is, by rough bars or rails placed one above another in a zigzag direction. The few farmhouses visible were also formed by bars or logs of wood, covered with laths and plaster. The situation of the inhabitants of these sequestered dwellings did not appear very enviable, though it doubtless had its charms, or its recompense at least. Every first settler in a new country labours less for the present than for the future, for himself than for his posterity, and it is this honourable consciousness that invigorates his toil, cheers his solitude, and alleviates his privations.

As we rattled down a steep hill leading to Chester, I thought there was a fair chance of our ending the first stage at the bottom of a precipice on our left, and so we probably should if we had *missed stays;* but when within three or four feet of the edge, the driver went cleverly on the *other tack*, till brought up by the high bank on that side, when he again *put about*, and made for the precipice, and thus by great skill got us safe to the inn at the bottom.

Chester is a small town of no present importance; but its situation as the first post or stage between Philadelphia and the Southern States seemed to ensure its progressive extension and prosperity. It was now chiefly interesting as the place

where Penn, having landed at Newark with his Quakers, and the grant of Charles the Second, bestowing upon him the immense tract of country to which he here, perhaps, gave his name, held his first assembly, producing his authority, and explaining, it is probable, his views and intentions. It appears that some Indians still retained their possessions in this part of the country, and that their chiefs were received with kindness at this meeting, and with assurances of justice and protection. Although such assurances are generally made and seldom observed, one is willing to suppose that Mr. Penn promised no more than he meant to perform; but it is painful to consider that the Indian tribes, instead of being civilised and improved by this event, were gradually compelled to recede before the influx of European nations, carrying their original barbarism, with the admixture, perhaps, of new vices and diseases, to other settlements in the interior, from which they were again dislodged as the tide of intrusion rolled on.

It is possible that the general outline of the State of Pennsylvania may have undergone some change since Penn enrolled his charter in the village of Chester in 1682; but I believe the limits were nearly then what they are now (1796), extending from the Delaware to the shores of the Ohio, and of Lakes Erie and Ontario—a vast extent of country to be granted to one individual, either on the ground of service rendered the State by the father of William Penn, or as a debt due to the latter by the Crown. Of these two motives, the most interested one must, perhaps, be considered the most probable. We naturally wish to know what advantages Penn derived from his great acquisition, and are hardly surprised to learn that the affairs of his province involved him in innumerable disputes and difficulties, and even encroached upon his private fortune. He died in the year 1718 at the age of seventy-four. It is probable that his name is held in respect by the "Friends" of Pennsylvania; but I never heard it mentioned in general society, nor observed that it was common. There was no one who bore it, either

in the national representation or in the provincial assemblies of the State.

As the extreme jolting of the waggon had caused a general complaint among the passengers, and the inconvenience might be expected to increase as we got farther from the capital, I proposed to join two or three of the party in hiring some other conveyance, but found that the waggon was the only carriage on the road. Having therefore changed our horses for four others of the same small but excellent race, we resumed our seats upon the bare planks, and continued our journey. The reserve of a first stage being over, the passengers became rather clamorous. They were, however, most polite towards me, exempting me from their sallies and jokes. Their wit was particularly directed against a "*Yankee*" who was one of the company. *We* apply this designation as a term of ridicule or reproach to the inhabitants of all parts of the United States indiscriminately; but the Americans confine its application to their countrymen of the Northern or New England States, and more especially to those of Massachusetts.

Four miles from Chester we passed through a small hamlet called Chichester, and soon after quitted the fine province of Pennsylvania, and entered the small State of Delaware, forming a narrow slip along the right bank of the Delaware river to the sea. I had had a view of the whole length of its water boundary as I sailed up the Delaware in the *India*. The part of this little district which I now saw appeared to have a pleasant and healthy elevation; but the lower parts, towards the shore of the Atlantic, contain numerous fens or marshes called swamps. One of these, called the Cypress swamp, is said to be twelve miles in length and six in breadth.

When about twelve miles from Chester, passing over some high land, called the heights of Christiania, we descended to a creek of that name, and soon after entered Wilmington, which I have already mentioned (in describing our passage up the Delaware) as the principal town of the Delaware State, although

Dover is the seat of government—for what reason I do not know, unless because its position is more central, a very *good* reason, which is not so much attended to in the establishing of metropolitan towns as public convenience frequently requires.

Having again changed horses, we reached the Brandywine, a small stream which flows from the Welsh mountains, in the interior of Pennsylvania. The Brandywine mills, for grinding corn, are very celebrated, and their great neatness and flourishing activity had a very pleasing appearance from the road. Here America already exhibited a spot which might be compared with any similar scene in England. I saw some small craft, of apparently about ten or fifteen tons; but I understood that sloops of a much larger size could mount the stream from the Delaware. These mills were said to furnish a very considerable part of the best flour consumed in Philadelphia.

I was glad that my presence did not prevent my fellow-travellers from speaking with much enthusiasm of an action fought here, during the late war, between the American troops and the British forces under the command of General Clinton. I cannot find a note I have somewhere of the particulars of this engagement. But the American army, commanded by General Washington, defended the passage of the Brandywine with great bravery, and indeed with success, till outflanked and turned by Lord Cornwallis, who crossed the river higher up. The British troops advanced, and took possession of Philadelphia. It appeared to me that the banks of the Schuylkyl might have offered another point of defence, but they doubtless did not. Indeed, the situation of the American army might have been too critical, with the Delaware in its rear, unless it had been possible to secure its retreat by a bridge of boats across that river. But although the American capital was thus lost on the Brandywine, the Americans consider that day, so calamitous to their cause, as highly honourable to their arms. It is a circumstance creditable to the talents of a general, and to the generosity of the nation

he serves, when he can sustain defeat without losing the esteem and confidence of his countrymen. It may also be considered one of the peculiarities of such contests, between a disciplined army and irregular troops, that the latter often gain glory in defeat, while *victory* is hardly glorious to their opponent.

We next changed horses at Newark, and completed our day's journey, soon after sunset, at Head of Elk, the name given to a few houses situated upon the Elk river, which we crossed in a boat, hauling upon a rope stretched across it. Here again it was easy to contemplate a future bridge. It was not, as in India, where the surplus revenue of the country was sent out of it, without being counterbalanced by any return. Here, this surplus would be expended *in* the country, whose property indeed it was, in national improvements. America was a farm, in which the produce was spent upon the land; India, one in which even stubble was carried from it.

During the last stage we had passed the White and Red Clay Creeks. At the latter, General Washington had attempted to make a stand against the royal army which the British fleet had brought from New York, and landed at the head of Chesapeak Bay, not far from the place where we now stopped for the night. After the roughest journey I had ever had, a good supper and bed would have been very acceptable, but nothing could well be worse than the provision made for the travellers in both these respects. After a sparing and ill-dressed repast, which drew forth bitter words, and *more* than words, from the Yankee and most of his countrymen, we were conducted, one following another, up a narrow staircase, little better than a ladder, and all, to my utter despair, shut in one room, upon whose floor, which, by the bye, appeared to have little benefited by its proximity to the waters of the Chesapeak, were placed a few rude unfurnished bedsteads, without curtains, ranged one close to another, like cots in a soldier's barrack. Whether, however, it was my very good fortune, or the politeness of the Americans, whose attentions I had received along the road, I could not tell,

but it so happened that in the distribution and coupling which took place, I remained without a partner, being the only one, I believe, who had this invaluable privilege. I was so sensible of the advantage I had obtained that I should have been glad to enjoy it a little longer the next morning; but at half-past two the tawny girl (slave, I fear I might call her), who had lighted us upstairs, reappeared with a candle in her hand, and announced that the waggon would soon be ready.

At three o'clock, with no other light than what was afforded by the twinkling of the stars, the waggon and everything it contained, the passengers *on* the hard seats, their portmanteaus *under* them, were once more literally *in motion*, for the road was far from improving as we advanced into the State of Maryland, which we had entered the preceding afternoon. Soon after leaving the inn, we crossed another small stream, called Elk Creek. It is the union of this with the rivulet we had passed the evening before that forms the larger stream at the head of which the foundations of a future town have been so judiciously laid. This spot, covered by the two streams whose junction opens a communication with the Chesapeak in front, would in Europe probably have been chosen for a military position. But such advantages, happily, did not enter into the calculations of the Americans, who, not having to entrench themselves against the jealousy or ambition of surrounding nations, directed their attention to situations the most favourable to the establishments of agriculture and commerce, of peace, and not of war. They chose a rivulet, not to defend a bastion, but to turn a mill.

We proceeded very slowly till break of day, and not very fast after, the road being exceedingly deep and rough, often quitting what appeared to be the intended line, and winding, for a fresh and firmer bottom, through the partially cleared forest on either side, the driver, with great dexterity, guiding his horses round the stumps of trees, going over such roots as would only shake us a little, and avoiding others that would be likely to overturn us. The fields of such parts as were cleared were

always surrounded by the zigzag fence of bars. The planting of hedges had not yet commenced, all refinement in agriculture, as in other things, being reserved for a more advanced stage of society, when population should be more abundant, labour cheaper, and public taste more improved. It would, however, have been an easy and cheap embellishment of the country, if a few of the fine trees of the ancient forests had been allowed to remain, if not in the fields, at least in the line of the future hedgerows. But *all* the trees being cut down, about three feet above the ground, the openings left in the forests were extremely unpicturesque, the enclosures having the appearance of large sheep-pens. Although the remaining stumps of the trees rendered the fields most unsightly, and, obstructing the plough, obliged the farmer to leave much ground uncultivated, they would probably remain undisturbed until the decay of their roots should facilitate their removal. For in a new country, as America now was, land is cheap and labour dear ; but as the nation advances towards maturity, the reverse becomes the case, labour growing abundant, and the value of the produce of the earth rising with the demands of an extended population. Perhaps the happiest point for a country is the medium between these extremities.

Soon after sunrise we crossed a river on which Charlestown is situated, two miles lower, at its junction with the Chesapeak, and at nine o'clock reached the banks of the Susquehannah, where we found a boat ready to take us over to Havre de Grace, on the opposite side. As we pulled upon the rope stretched across this rapid stream, I contemplated, with peculiar pleasure, the ancient woods which still threw their broad shadow upon its surface. I was greatly struck with the wild poetic cast of this enchanting spot, all the features of which were as Indian as its name, excepting, indeed, the new-built town of Havre de Grace, whose white houses on the southern shore had supplanted the wigwams of the Susquehannah tribes, and interrupted the magnificent line of foliage.

I could not but feel a great desire to remain longer amidst such scenery, and explore the further beauties which the course of the Susquehannah would probably disclose. This river, however, though one of the largest that run into the Chesapeak, is not of very great length, since its sources are in the Alleghany mountains, in the upper parts of the States of Pennsylvania and New York, a distance of about 300 miles. Although much obstructed, in this course, by falls and rapids, it is navigable, or, as the Americans say, *boatable*, down the stream, nearly from its rise, but sloops and sea-craft can ascend it only three or four miles above Havre, being there stopped by some rapids. It is not improbable that many of these impediments will hereafter be removed, or avoided by means of locks and canals, and other contrivances, and that a navigable communication may connect the Chesapeak, the great Atlantic lake, with the chain of lakes in the north, and with the Ohio and Mohawk rivers, and thus by the Mississippi and Hudson, into which these rivers respectively flow, with New Orleans and New York. Such are the gigantic schemes of this aspiring people. It is, perhaps, not too much to say, that the nation which, even in the first years of its political existence, has the genius to form such projects, and the patriotism to dwell upon them with confidence and enthusiasm, has already established the probability of their execution. None of my companions had followed the banks of the Susquehannah, but I understood from them that its greatest beauties were at the passage of one of its branches through the Alleghany mountains. Its width, on reaching the Chesapeak about two miles from Havre, was said to exceed a mile. I always experience great difficulty in judging of the width of rivers, but the Susquehannah, at our ferry, did not appear to me to be so broad as the Thames at Twickenham.

At the best inn I had yet seen in America, neat, clean, and pleasantly situated, we found a good and abundant breakfast ready for us, consisting of tea, coffee, eggs, and cold meat. Here seemed to be another instance of that degree of improvement to

which everything, probably, was advancing, though often imperceptibly, and with uneven steps; and not with the premature precipitancy unreasonably expected by too many travellers from other countries.

Our next stage was to Harford Bush, a very small town, but pleasantly and advantageously situated upon an inlet of the Chesapeak, here about ten miles in width. In some parts of this noble bay, particularly below the junction of the Potomac, the width exceeds twenty miles. Its length, in a northerly direction, from Cape Henry in Virginia to the mouth of the Susquehannah, is nearly 300 miles. Its depth, and the facility it offers to navigation, may be inferred from the circumstance already mentioned that the British fleet sailed up it and landed the army at its northern extremity, near the Head of Elk. It would be pleasing to imagine the extraordinary sight which such a fleet on the basin of the Chesapeak must have presented, if it could be detached from the lamentable cause connected with it. A citizen of the United States may, without much generosity, forgive injuries from which his country derives its being; but an Englishman can scarcely revert to the same acts without a painful sense of imprudence and injustice.

While the numerous bays and inlets of the Chesapeak and the streams which run into it on either side seemed favourable to commerce, its waters were said to afford excellent fish, and also the celebrated canvas-back duck, of which I had heard much on board the *India*, as well as since my arrival in America, without having yet had an opportunity of forming my own opinion of its merits.

Having changed horses at Harford Bush, we went on to Joppa, passing in our way the Gunpowder river. Journeying over the same wild country, woods in their primitive state, or partially cleared, with now and then a log-house, the appearance of which, unsurrounded by society or resources, was more dismal than cheering, we came to the small hamlet of Kingsbury, and at four in the afternoon reached Baltimore.

We drove in good style into the courtyard of the "Indian Queen," a large inn of very respectable appearance. It formed one of the angles between Market and Queen Street, in the upper part of the town, and had an extensive front in each street.

I could not separate from my companions without taking leave of them all, and acknowledging the polite attentions they had shown me; for though a total want of reserve amongst themselves almost degenerated sometimes into coarseness, their behaviour towards me was uniformly obliging. Soon after I had taken possession of my quarters, a small room with a very small bed, fronting, at my desire, the principal street, I was told that dinner was ready, and was shown into the largest room I had ever seen in any hotel even in England. It extended the whole depth of the house, from Queen Street to the great court-yard, and was divided along the middle by a broad fixed table, nearly as long as the room itself. I found a large party assembled, or assembling, consisting almost entirely of travellers and lodgers in the house, and not of residents in the town, for anti-Britannic as the Americans are in their political feelings, they have the domestic propensities of their ancestors, every man dining with his family, if he has one. After the dinner, which was composed principally of large joints of meat and dishes of vegetables, served more in abundance than variety, each person rose when he pleased and retired without ceremony, much as in India. I was glad to avail myself of this *freedom* in order to see something of Baltimore that evening.

I accordingly walked down the principal street, which had a gentle slope from the country, a little above the "Indian Queen," and turning when near the bottom of it to the right, through some smaller streets, came to the port, an extensive basin formed by the Patapsco river, before it reaches the Chesapeak; or perhaps it may as reasonably be considered an *inlet* of the Chesapeak into which the Patapsco discharges itself. I here saw many ships and sea-vessels of various descriptions.

Some were in the stream, others against the wharfs which lined the shore, and there seemed room for a much larger number, the width of the basin appearing to me to be at least a mile, and its length towards the Chesapeak much more. The advantages of the position were so evident that it was not surprising it should have been early selected for the foundation of a commercial city. The port seemed effectually defended by a small fort called Fort Henry. Unfortunately there is an insufficient depth of water close to the town, so that a ship with a full and heavy cargo on board cannot come alongside the wharfs, as the *India* did at Philadelphia. But this objection does not apply to a part a little lower down, called Fell's Point, where consequently many houses and warehouses are already built, and to which Baltimore is rapidly extending.

As I returned up the town by another street I passed by the house of Mr. Gilmore, whose son had made the voyage to Calcutta in the *India*, and returned with me in that ship. It was a large, square, detached mansion, the handsomest I had yet observed in Baltimore. I deferred calling upon young Mr. Gilmore till the next day. After strolling about till dark I returned to the "Indian Queen," and spent a little time in the great room before going to bed.

Sunday.—On returning to the public hall this morning I found several persons at breakfast at the long table, each in his own way. By the side of the room was a table plentifully charged with cold meat, to which most of the company seemed to have recourse. Some had hot beefsteaks. After breakfast I walked up Market Street, which, however, did not extend far in that direction, but the ground was marked for carrying the town farther. The houses here were larger and handsomer in general than in the lower streets, but all were nearly upon the same plan, being built of red brick, having two or three windows in front, and three ranges of rooms or storeys in height, of which the lowest was generally occupied by the shop and the passage, and the two above by sitting-rooms and bedrooms. The street was

well paved, and had a good foot-pavement on each side. I walked through several other streets, nearly all of the same appearance, but not intersecting each other with the same symmetrical regularity as at Philadelphia. There was also a striking difference in the moral aspect of the two cities, Baltimore not having the dull uniformity which the dress and manners of a quaker population gave to the metropolis.

I went into a church in one of the streets to the left of Market Street. It was a large commodious building, with the exterior rather of a chapel, being built of red brick, and having neither tower nor steeple. The interior arrangement and the service were nearly those of an English church.

Soon after my return to the "Indian Queen," while preparing for my visit to Mr. Gilmore, I was informed that the Danish Consul had called to see me. I was surprised, having no knowledge of any one at Baltimore excepting young Mr. Gilmore. Upon going to the great room, where the Consul was waiting, this gentleman introduced himself to me as Mr. Barry, saying he had received a letter from Mr. Law of Washington, who had hoped to meet me himself at Baltimore, but not being able to set out so soon as he had expected, had written about me to him. When I announced to Mr. Law my intention of visiting him, I received a most polite and pressing invitation, but did not suppose he would carry his attentions farther. Mr. Barry, whom I found a very gentlemanly man, was extremely civil, offering me, in the most friendly manner, his services during my stay in Baltimore.

When Mr. Barry had left me, I walked down the town to the house that had been pointed out to me, the evening before, as Mr. Gilmore's. My shipmate seemed very glad to see me again, and leaving me for two or three minutes, returned to the parlour with his father, Mrs. Gilmore, two sisters, and an elder and younger brother. All this fine family received me with as much attention as if I had rendered some essential service to Mr. W. Gilmore, which was by no means the case.

The respectable old gentleman insisted upon my coming to dine with him that day, which I accordingly did, and passed the evening most agreeably, discovering no difference whatever between an American and an English fireside. On this occasion, as on many others, I found the information I had collected in different parts of India, respecting the manufactures and commerce of that country, very useful, inasmuch as it enabled me to make acceptable communications upon these subjects. By a commercial treaty lately concluded between Great Britain and the United States, under the auspices of Lord Grenville and Mr. Jay, American ships were allowed to trade with the East India Company's possessions. The consequence was, that the American merchants had their attention at this time very much directed to this new and promising branch of commerce, and Mr. Gilmore, one of the principal merchants of Baltimore, and already holding a share in the *India*, was glad to be informed of the names, qualities, prices, and places of manufacture of such fabrics of the interior of India as were suited to the American market. Mr. Gilmore was surprised to find so great a difference between the original cost of many sorts of goods, and the prices exacted from the inexperience of American captains and supercargoes, at Calcutta. I suggested a mode by which better assortments might be procured, at a reduction of ten per cent on the prices now paid.

Monday.—I had not long returned to my own room after breakfast this morning before I was told that a gentleman had called upon me, and was waiting in the passage below. When I was within a few steps of the bottom of the stairs, a gentleman advanced hastily to meet me, and taking me warmly by the hand, said, "I am sure you are Mr. Thomas Twining, you are so like your father." This unceremonious stranger was Mr. Law, just arrived from Washington. I took him into a parlour on the ground floor, and there we had a long conversation about India, where he still had many friends. After a very pleasant interview, he invited me to dine with him that day, at Mr. Barry's,

with whom he was staying: he would then, he said, introduce me to Mrs. Law, who had accompanied him from Washington.

Being unwell this forenoon, I was recommended to Dr. Jamieson, a physician, or rather, an apothecary with that title, who lived a few doors above the "Indian Queen," on the opposite side of the way. He had a considerable reputation, and was, at least, a sensible, agreeable man. The circumstance of my coming from Bengal seemed to interest him much. I dined with the Danish Consul. Mr. Law introduced me to Mrs. Law, with whom I was much pleased. She was granddaughter of Mrs Washington, the President's lady.

Tuesday.—Had a very friendly visit this morning from Dr. Jamieson, who expressed a wish to introduce me to his family. Called upon Mr. Law, and afterwards upon Mr. Gilmore.

Wednesday.—Mr. Gilmore and his son called this morning to let me know that the ship *Polly* was about to sail for Bengal. As soon as they had left me, I wrote to the Resident of Santipore to inform him of my arrival in America; I had written to him from the banks of the Jumna; I now addressed him from those of the Patapsco. Two English gentlemen called upon me soon after I had finished my letter. They came, they said, at the desire of the St. George's Society at Baltimore, to request my company at their Anniversary dinner, the next day, it being St. George's day. Not long after these gentlemen had left me, I received a visit from Mr. Law, who called to accompany me to Mr. Edward Thornton, the British Consul. Mr. Thornton received me with much politeness, and after some inquiries about India asked me if I was related to Mr. Daniel Twining of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He said that he himself had formerly belonged to that College, and that he had, in consequence, still some claims upon it, to which his absence from England had prevented his attending. I said I should probably go to Pembroke to see my brother, and would willingly deliver any letter or message to the master of the College. Mr.

Thornton said he would give me a letter for the master, Dr. Turner.

At dinner to-day, at the great table, some travellers from Virginia sat opposite to me. Finding I had some intention of visiting that state, they jokingly advised me to be on my guard against the Virginian practice of *gouging*, by which a man dexterously forces out the eye of another, with whom he quarrels. I expressed the difficulty I had in believing that this practice could be so common as the inhabitants of the Northern States represented it to be. One of the party observed that if I went as far as Alexandria, as I talked of doing, I should see persons who had lost an eye in the manner alluded to. Upon my observing that I could not conceive how this operation could be so easily accomplished, he said that if I wished it, he would soon show me. Expressing my consent, he rose, and walking round the end of the table came towards me. Having seated myself a little way from the table, he placed himself before me, laid hold of the hair by the side of my head, and twisting his fingers well in it, brought his thumb to the corner of my eye, against which he pressed with a force, or rather with a *command*, that satisfied me of the *possibility* of removing an eye from the socket in this manner. When he had disentangled his fingers from my hair, and I was at liberty, there was a jocular expression of satisfaction amongst the company, and some gentlemen assured me, afterwards, that they were glad to see me safe out of the Virginian's hands.

There exists a hostile, or, at least, an unfriendly spirit between many of the States composing the American Union, but this sentiment is more intense and uncharitable, assuming almost the character of fixed antipathy between the Northern and Southern States. It seemed, indeed, that the citizens of Massachusetts, and those of Georgia, Carolina, and Virginia are distinguishable by very opposite qualities. The inhabitants of the former are considered prudent, moral, diligent; but with more industry than genius. The native of Virginia is generous,

improvident, choleric, eloquent; but manifesting in his pursuits more genius than morality or exertion. His general character seems to assimilate him more to a native of Ireland or of France than of England, and the Virginian, who conceals not his repugnance to the English, from whom indeed his country experienced much violence during the war, would not perhaps object to this classification. But the chief and least disputed reproach to which the inhabitants of the Southern States are liable, is that of dissipation, susceptibility of offence, and gambling. They are extremely fond of cock-fighting and other cruel sports, and their passion for gaming is said to be without restraint. In their frequent duels they sometimes fight with muskets, and in their common affrays they gouge and commit other barbarities. The character of the Middle States, New York, Philadelphia, the Jerseys, and Maryland, seems to be a modification of the extremes which distinguish the provinces of the north and south. It would, however, be very unreasonable to consider such a geographical distribution of the virtues and defects of a nation as minutely correct; but this outline may perhaps possess sufficient resemblance to give some idea of the characteristic features which distinguish the moral physiognomy of certain sections of the United States.

23*rd April.*—I this morning received a visit from the British Consul. In the afternoon I dined with the St. George's Society in the great room in which they held their meetings. I was received by the President and Vice-President, who introduced me to several members of the Society. Although the party was limited to English, Irish, and Scotch, the numbers filled a table which extended nearly the whole length of the room. The President, on taking the chair, placed me on his right hand, opposite Mr. Thornton, who sat on his left. After a very handsome dinner, the healths of the President of the United States and of the King of England, and other toasts, were drunk, intermixed with songs. After a very agreeable evening of patriotic and temperate festivity, I acknowledged the gratifica-

tion I had received, and returned to my lodging before the party broke up.

When I was at Dehli the Great Mogol, wishing to express his satisfaction with some communications I had succeeded in making to him, allowed me, at my suggestion, to have his name, and the date of my reception at his Court, engraved on some personal ornament. Accordingly on my return to Bengal I had a small tablet of silver handsomely engraved with the Emperor's name in Persian characters, and the date of my introduction to him. Some years after, when in charge of an extensive district in the interior of India, and which, as it happened, had been the residence of His Majesty's predecessors on the throne, and the scene of his own early military exploits, I was in the habit of wearing this ornament upon receiving visits from the Rajah and other principal personages of the country. Desirous now of expressing my sense of the attentions I had received from my countrymen, I again wore this memorial, and presented it to the President and others, who examined it with curiosity, and were amused with the history belonging to it.

24*th April*.—Breakfasted, as usual, at the great table. In the forenoon Mr. Law and other friends called, and also a Mr. Field, an English miniature painter, who had dined with the St. George's Society the day before. He expressed a wish that I would *sit* to him, which I agreed to do on my return from Washington, for which I was to leave Baltimore in a day or two. Dined with Mr. Law at Mr. Barry's. In the evening Dr. Jamieson called, and stayed and supped with me.

25*th*.—Mr. and Mrs. Law set out in their chariot and four horses for Washington. I had not seen such an equipage in America. They invited me to accompany them, but besides my unwillingness to add to their inconvenience on the bad roads they had to travel, I had some engagements which prevented my leaving Baltimore till the next day. Much rain after Mr Law's departure. Write to my brother by a ship bound to England.

26*th*.—At four this morning I quitted Baltimore, where

I had passed a few days most agreeably, having found numerous friends where I expected to find none but strangers, and received a degree of spontaneous kindness and hospitality upon which I had still less reason to calculate.

In the stage-waggon, for such again was the conveyance, were ten other passengers. After going eight miles we reached the Patapsco, a small river which rises in the southern part of Pennsylvania. We crossed it in a boat which held the waggon and horses, the passengers remaining in their places, for the difficulty of getting in and out prevented our leaving these on trifling occasions, such as crossing a ferry, or stopping to change horses, or going up a hill.

At eight o'clock we reached a solitary inn called "Spurrier's," where we found the usual substantial American breakfast. The country through which we had passed was extremely dismal, being covered with forests, upon which the axe had, as yet, made but little impression, for, excepting a few open spots here and there, such trees alone were cut down as were necessary for the formation of a road, or rather the *line* of a road, for this was still in a very rude state, the driver being obliged to wind as well as he could between the remaining stumps. The soft soil being rendered deep by the rain that had fallen, our progress was very slow, not exceeding thirteen miles in four hours—a pace slower than that to which I had been accustomed in my palanquin in India. My companions were chiefly from Virginia and the Southern States, and were very lively. They urged me to extend my travels to the south, but at the same time did not conceal the aversion of their countrymen towards the English nation, nor the caution this feeling would require me to adopt in my intercourse with the inhabitants.

Our next stage was to another solitary station called "Van's," fifteen miles; the whole, with very little exception, through thick woods. The waggon, in winding through the trees and over their roots, was often so depressed in the soft ground and old ruts on one side, that the passengers were obliged to press

towards the other. Without this perpetual *trimming* we should certainly have been overturned; not that such an adventure would have been attended with any serious consequence, the waggon being so low, and the pace so slow: the scramble therefore on these occasions was attended with more mirth than apprehension. Eight miles more, over a country more cleared, and a better road, brought us to the "Indian Queen" at Bladensburg, a small solitary inn, surrounded by a few rude cottages, which a few years would probably transform into respectable houses, particularly if the new city, now distant only one stage, should become the seat of government.

While we were at dinner one of the party informed Mr. Ross, the civil landlord, that I came from Bengal. "Why!" observed Mr. Ross, "the gentleman speaks English as we do."

Over the fireplace in the dining-room was a plan of Washington, with the streets, squares, and public buildings of the intended city minutely detailed.

Our next and last stage of twelve miles was pretty good as to road and country; but we had a great deal of rain, which obliged us to unroll all the leathern curtains. This rendered the interior of the waggon very dark and oppressively hot, there being no aperture for light or air excepting in front, between the driver and the passenger by his side. This obscurity and suffocation rendered more welcome the report of our driver at about three in the afternoon that we were approaching Georgetown. We entered this town in half an hour more, and descended from our prison at the "Fountain Tavern."

This day's journey had afforded nothing particularly interesting excepting the singularity of our travelling through the woods, and the appearance of a country just emerging from a state of nature. The luxuriance of the forests denoted a rich soil, but a very small part only of the country had as yet been cleared for cultivation. As population advanced the woods would of course disappear. In the meantime it was impossible to see man in this early stage of solitary seclusion without con-

sidering the difficulties and privations he endured while slowly preparing the comforts of civilised life for his posterity. In the whole course of the day I had not seen a blacksmith's nor a baker's shop; and as for *medical* assistance in case of sickness or accident amongst the scattered inhabitants, there apparently was none whatever in the country we had passed through.

I intended to proceed this afternoon to Mr. Law's house at Washington, distant only about five or six miles, but could not procure a conveyance of any kind. I therefore contented myself with walking about Georgetown. It is a small but neat town, situated on the left or northern bank of the Potomac, a few miles below what are called the lower falls of that river, there being other falls, particularly the Great and Seneca falls, higher up. These falls are, of course, a complete obstruction to the navigation; but societies formed by the inhabitants of Maryland, Baltimore, and Pennsylvania were about to form locks and canals for the purpose of avoiding these interruptions.

The Potomac is inconsiderable till it reaches the neighbourhood of Georgetown, when it becomes a large river, navigable to the sea, a distance of nearly 300 miles, though strictly speaking it may perhaps be considered as terminating at its junction with the Chesapeak about 150 miles from the lower falls. The passage of the Potomac through the Blue ridge is said to afford most beautiful scenery. Many of the geologists of the United States seem to think that the Blue Mountains were once the boundaries of an immense lake till the Susquehannah, Potomac, and other rivers burst through them.

In my walk about the town I saw several good houses, some in rows, others in a line but detached, the intervals between them not being yet filled up. The road from Virginia and the Southern States, crossing the Potomac here, already gives an air of prosperity to this little town, and assures its future importance, whatever may be the fate of the projected metropolis. Georgetown must share its advantages, but be independent of its failure.

27*th.*—When the landlord of the "Fountain" found that I was going to Mr. Law's, he made every endeavour to procure me a carriage, but without success. He this morning, however, procured me a horse, and had him brought to the door soon after breakfast. Leaving, therefore, my portmanteau to be forwarded in the course of the day, I set out for Washington, situated lower down the Potomac, in the territory of Columbia, the name given to a portion of land ceded by the contiguous States of Maryland and Virginia for the construction and convenience of the new metropolis.

Having crossed an extensive tract of level country somewhat resembling an English heath, I entered a large wood through which a very imperfect road had been made principally by removing the trees, or rather the upper parts of them, in the usual manner. After some time this indistinct way assumed more the appearance of a regular avenue, the trees here having been cut down in a straight line. Although no habitation of any kind was visible, I had no doubt but I was now riding along one of the streets of the metropolitan city. I continued in this spacious avenue for half a mile, and then came out upon a large spot, cleared of wood, in the centre of which I saw two buildings on an extensive scale, and some men at work on one of them. The only human beings I should have seen here not a great many years before would have been some savages of the Potomac, whose tribe is said to have sent deputies to treat with William Penn at the assembly he held at Chester. Advancing and speaking to these workmen, they informed me that I was now in the centre of the city, and that the building before me was the Capitol, and the other destined to be a tavern. As the greatest cities have a similar beginning, there was really nothing surprising here, nor out of the usual order of things; but still the scene which surrounded me—the metropolis of a great nation in its first stage from a sylvan state—was strikingly singular. I thought it the more so, as the accounts which I had received of Washington while at Philadelphia, and the plan

which I had seen hung up in the dining-room at Bladensburg, had prepared me for something rather more advanced. Looking from where I now stood I saw on every side a thick wood pierced with avenues in a more or less perfect state. These denoted the lines of the intended streets, which already appeared in the engraved plan with their future names. The Capitol promised to be a large and handsome building, judging from the part, about two-thirds, already above the ground. I walked through several of the lower apartments, and saw the halls designed for the representatives and senate, now in an unfinished state, and encumbered with building materials. I did not go into the tavern. It was a large building of red brick, and in a much more advanced state than the Capitol, being roofed in.

The masons having answered all my questions with much civility, I rode on, following the avenue they pointed out to me. After going about three-quarters of a mile through a silent wilderness, I found myself upon a trackless plain partially covered with trees and brushwood. I in vain looked about for Mr. Law's house or some one to guide me to it. I therefore rode on in the direction I judged the most likely to lead me out of this labyrinth. I knew that in case of my not succeeding, my retreat was always open to the Capitol, for while talking with the workmen I observed that all the avenues converged to that point. I continued therefore to explore my way through the thickets, keeping my horse's head rather towards the right, to gain if necessary the Potomac, whose bank I might then follow.

I had not proceeded far before I saw a carriage issue from the forest beyond the plain, and I soon perceived that it was making for a small bridge, which I now discovered for the first time, considerably to the right of the point for which I was making. I shaped my course accordingly, and hastened forwards as fast as the nature of the ground would permit, that I might catch the carriage at the bridge, from which we were both at nearly the same distance. The carriage, however, was apparently trotting along upon a road, while my progress was almost stopped,

and was soon likely to be quite so, by the bogginess of the land as I drew near a small stream that I found running along the bottom. Thus I saw the carriage pass the bridge, and escaping, while I was yet at some distance. It fortunately, however, turned afterwards rather to the right, making towards the wood I had left, and it seemed possible that I might still intercept it by regaining the high ground and getting to the road it was taking. I succeeded in this attempt, reaching the road just before it passed. As it approached the hope I had indulged was confirmed. It *was* Mr. Law's chariot, which, in the expectation of my arrival at Georgetown, Mr. Law had sent for me. The coachman tying my horse behind, we recrossed the small bridge, passed through the forest I had seen, and a second plain beyond it, and reached the banks of the Potomac. In a few minutes more we arrived at Mr. Law's, where I had a most cordial reception.

In the afternoon Mr. Law took me about his new estate. His house, built by himself, was only a few yards from the steep bank of the Potomac, and commanded a fine view across that river, here half a mile wide. In the rear of the house Mr. Law was building a street, consisting of much smaller houses than his own, speculating upon a great increase in their value when the expected transfer of the seat of government should be effected. The position at least was favourable, being on a point of land between the Potomac and a tributary stream called "the eastern branch," thus offering a double water-front.

Mr. Law sent a servant to Georgetown with my horse, with directions to bring back my portmanteau.

In the evening Miss Westcott of Philadelphia arrived. Though possessing a sort of celebrity for her talents and literary attainments, her manners were particularly unaffected and agreeable.

28*th*.—Spent the day with Mr. Law's family. Monsieur Talleyrand, Ex-bishop of Autun, whom the hostility of parties in France had driven across the Atlantic, was expected from Philadelphia, but much to my regret did not come.

29*th.*—Mr. and Mrs. Law took me in their carriage this forenoon to introduce me to Mr. Lear and his family, residing near Georgetown, but within the limits, as I understood, of the new city. The family was nearly related to General Washington. Mr. Lear himself was the General's private secretary. I thought him a most respectable man. The family inquired if I had been introduced to the President, and when they found that I had not, promised me a particular introduction on my return to Philadelphia.

Miss Custis, sister of Mrs. Law, arrived. A letter from Monsieur Talleyrand announced that he was under the necessity of deferring his visit. I had reckoned much upon the gratification of spending a few days thus privately in the company of this celebrated character. The talents and liveliness of Mr. Law, and the acquirements of Miss Westcott, were not ill calculated to produce some display of his powers, and elicit some sparks of his wit.

30*th.*—To-day Mr. and Mrs. Law were so good as to make a party on my account to Alexandria, which I had a desire to see, as one of the principal towns in Virginia. Accompanied by Miss Custis and Miss Westcott, we embarked in a large boat and were rowed down the Potomac. A little below the point on which Mr. Law's house stood, after the junction of the eastern branch, the river was nearly a mile in width, and remained without perceptible increase till we reached Alexandria, on the opposite or southern shore, seven miles lower. The current was rather slow than rapid. On both sides was a flat country, presenting no picturesque scenery towards the river. But a great river, seen for the first time, is itself an object of sufficient interest, and I accordingly felt great satisfaction in rowing down the Potomac, although the romantic scenes of which I had heard did not extend so low down its course.

Arrived at Alexandria, we landed at a handsome, recently-built quay, nearly in the centre of the water-line, and walked up the town to the inn, passing in our way through a large open

space, apparently intended for a market-place. The town being built upon a slope from the interior to the water's edge, appeared to much advantage as we rowed towards it from the middle of the river. But the circumstance which most struck me was the vast number of houses which I saw building as we passed through the streets, and the number of people employed as carpenters and masons. The hammer and trowel were at work everywhere—a cheering sight, and a remarkable contrast with the dilapidation of cities which I had seen in my former travels. Although the latter were calculated to afford a deeper interest in some respects, the scene of new and active life, the foundations of future prosperity which Alexandria presented, made me feel how much more gratifying it is to observe the rise of a new state than the decline of an old one.

It appeared not improbable that Alexandria, situated lower down the Potomac, and enjoying the advantage of a greater depth of water, would in commercial competition prove a formidable rival to Washington. It is probable, however, that the immense back country, as it is called, of the United States will, when duly peopled, afford an ample commerce to all the great towns advantageously situated near the mouths of the principal rivers along the Atlantic coast.

I did not forget as I walked about the streets the assurance of the Virginians at Baltimore that I should probably see here persons who had lost an eye by gouging. Although I had not this demonstration, I was informed that the practice was by no means uncommon, and that there *were* persons in the town who had lost an eye in this manner.

After dining at the inn we returned to the boat. There not being wind enough to assist us against the stream, we got on but slowly with our oars. We lost nothing, however, by this delay but a little time, for the moon shone so beautifully upon the still, broad stream that we were all struck with the loveliness of the scene. Miss Westcott even made it the subject of some lines, whose elegance only I recollect.

1*st May.*—To-day having been fixed for my returning towards Philadelphia, there to embark for England, I received a very flattering letter of introduction to General Washington from his relations, whom I had visited with Mr. and Mrs. Law near Georgetown. They also intrusted me with a miniature picture of the General, which they wished me to deliver to him.

My stay with Mr. and Mrs. Law had been rendered extremely agreeable by the great kindness I had received from them. They wished me to prolong my stay, but I was anxious to get to England, particularly as I should be likely to sail again for India early in the following year.

Although Mr. Law seemed satisfied with his new situation, having a companion with whom a man might be happy anywhere, I could not but be surprised at the plan of life he had chosen. The clearing of ground and building of small houses, amongst the woods of the Potomac, seemed an uncongenial occupation for a man of so accomplished a mind, and whose former habits and employment had been so different. As chief of a large district in Bengal he had been accustomed to the discharge of important official functions, and to the splendour and consequence of a prince. In England his family was opulent and distinguished. One brother was Bishop of Carlisle, another was a barrister of the first eminence, and the successful defender of Mr. Warren Hastings against the political influence of Fox, the eloquence of Sheridan, and the virulence of Burke. America, of all countries, seemed the least suited to the activity or leisure of such a person. Here almost every one was engaged either in politics or speculative enterprise. But as a foreigner, and particularly as an Englishman, Mr. Law could never possess any political weight in the country; and his inexperience in commercial affairs, amidst rivals so experienced and intelligent, might expose him to litigation and disappointment, and involve a considerable diminution of his fortune. One anticipation in which he indulged, with great confidence and satisfaction, was that *other* East Indians would join him;

and he hoped, I was sorry to see, that I might return to Bengal with impressions tending to encourage this migration. As we stood one evening on the bank of the river before his door, he said, "Here I will make a terrace, and we will sit and smoke our hookahs."

I deeply regretted this delusion. It seemed not improbable that East Indians might sometimes take America in their way to England, as I had done; but I could not think, nor hardly hope, that they would desert the refined charms of the Thames, their families and country, to colonise and smoke their hookahs on the banks of the Potomac.

I left my kind friends, with the painful idea that I should probably never see them again, soon after twelve o'clock. I was unwilling to take their carriage and horses farther than Georgetown, through which the stage-waggon from Virginia would pass the next morning; but they insisted upon my going in it as far as Bladensburg. As Miss Westcott was going to Georgetown, I had the pleasure of her company so far. She stopped at the house of Mr. Stuart, where she introduced me to her friends the Misses Brecks, two other young ladies from Philadelphia. Having remained here a short time, I continued my ride to Bladensburg, and alighting there at the "Indian Queen," was well taken care of the rest of the afternoon by Mr. Ross. I observed that Mr. Law's coachman was well provided against the deficiencies of the country, having spare shoes for his horses and the necessary instruments of a blacksmith's shop.

2nd May.—The stage-waggon arriving soon after breakfast, I take leave of Mr. Ross. Changed horses at Van's, and again at Spurrier's, where we dined. The day being very fine and my five or six companions very agreeable men, I enjoyed my ride, amused with the rude beginnings of civilisation which I again saw on every side, and contemplated the changes which human energy and perseverance would gradually introduce. From the summit of a hill leading down to the

Patapsco, I enjoyed the only fine view upon the road, though the partial clearing of the woods would undoubtedly discover, and form indeed, others. At four o'clock we drove into the great yard of the "Indian Queen," when the landlord jocosely expressed his satisfaction at seeing me return with both my eyes from Virginia.

Having noticed some unusual bustle about the streets, I was informed that there had been a review of the militia that morning to celebrate the anniversary of St. Tammany, the titular saint of America. St. Tammany's Day was the day before, but that being Sunday, the celebration of it had been deferred till to-day. In the evening I went to the play. It was performed by French comedians, the greater part of whom were unfortunate persons whom the tyranny of the Revolution had driven from their country and from better situations in life.

3rd. — Unwell to-day, with a slight return of my Indian symptoms. I however paid visits to the friends who had before shown me so much kindness. I received several invitations to dinner, but preferred dining alone at the inn. In the afternoon I took a very pleasant ride on horseback, accompanied by the two young Messrs. Gilmores. They took me round the port to some high ground commanding a good view of the town, the basin, and shipping. I spent the evening very agreeably with the Misses Stiths. I regret that my journal does not mention, and that I cannot recollect, who these ladies were, nor how I was introduced to them. They had the goodness to procure me some English newspapers I was desirous of seeing. I had been told in Philadelphia that my sister had been married to a surgeon, and I thought the newspapers might give me more particulars. On my return home, I found that Mr. Field, the miniature painter, had called.

4th.—Called upon Mr. Field and *sat.* Dined with a large party at Mr. Campbell's, the President of the St. George's Society.

5th.—Sat again to Mr. Field. Mr. Consul Barry called,

and afterwards Colonels Howard and O'Donald, two of the principal inhabitants of Baltimore. They both gave most friendly invitations to their country-seats — the former to Belvidere, of which I had heard much, and Colonel O'Donald to his villa, called Canton. Colonel O'Donald had, many years before, been in Bengal, and now expressed much pleasure in meeting one from that country. Called upon Mr. Thornton: further conversation with him about Pembroke Hall. Called upon Mr. Curzon. Singular particulars of his family.[1] He informed me that Mr. Robert Liston had arrived in Philadelphia, as British Plenipotentiary to the United States. I afterwards saw the Danish Consul. He informed me that he had received a letter from Dr. Ross of Philadelphia, in which he was pleased to speak of me in very friendly terms, and to approve of my opinions respecting America. Mr. Barry read part of the Doctor's letter. He mentioned having introduced me to Dr. Priestley, and the Doctor's satisfaction with some communications about India. He said that Dr. Priestley meant to make an acknowledgment in a book he was about to publish.

6*th.*—As I was walking up and down the great room before breakfast this morning, Mr. Volney came up to me. He had arrived from Philadelphia the evening before. He confirmed the news of Mr. Liston's appointment and arrival.

Colonel O'Donald called to invite me to meet a party of his friends at Canton on the following Sunday. Dined with Mr. Consul Barry off salt fish, it being Friday.

7*th.* — I walked this morning to breakfast with Colonel Howard at Belvidere, only about half a mile from the top of the town to the right. The beauty of this seat exceeded even the accounts which I had received of it. It was upon the plan and possessed all the elegance of an English villa. Situated upon the verge of the descent upon which Baltimore stands,

[1] My journal does not state these particulars, and I have entirely forgotten them.

its grounds formed a beautiful slant towards the Chesapeak. From the taste with which they were laid out, it would seem that America already possessed a Haverfield or a Repton. The spot, thus indebted to nature and judiciously embellished, was as enchanting within its own proper limits as in the fine view which extended far beyond them. The foreground presented luxurious shrubberies and sloping lawns : the distance, the line of the Patapsco and the country bordering on Chesapeak Bay. *Both* the perfections of the landscape, its near and distant scenery, were united in the view from the bow-window of the noble room in which breakfast was prepared, with the desire, I believe, of gratifying me with this exquisite prospect. I could not help thinking that if Mr. Law or other nabobs chose to abandon their own country for America, *such* was the residence they should look for. I spent the greater part of the forenoon at Belvidere, detained by the attentions of Colonel Howard's family and the attractions of his villa, which seemed hardly to belong to the same age or country as the forests I had just passed through in so rude a conveyance ; and it was, indeed, less a specimen of the actual state of general improvement than evidence of the refinement towards which society in America was advancing.

I had intended to walk back to Baltimore, but Colonel Howard would order his carriage for me. I was accompanied by two young ladies of the name of Chew, who were staying at Belvidere, and took this opportunity of *shopping* and paying a few visits.

I dined with Mr. Gilmore's family and stayed till a late hour.

8*th*.—Called upon Mr. Campbell and Mr. Thomson. Early in the afternoon the friends of Colonel O'Donald who were to dine with him called upon me at his desire to accompany me to his country-house — distant about seven miles. Having mounted my horse we proceeded down Market Street, and when nearly at the bottom of the town turned to the left and

gained the country extending along the basin of the Patapsco. The road being rough and stony my companions supposed I should wish to go slowly, but knowing the taste of the Americans for fast riding, I took the lead at a quick pace. We reached Canton after a merry ride. I was led to think from what I saw now, and had before observed, that the Americans have more spirits and vivacity on such occasions than the English, or at least that their impressions are under less reserve. It is to this unreserved communication probably that the facility with which the Americans express themselves in conversation is to be attributed. An American speaks English with the volubility of a Frenchman. On my arrival in America I was much struck with this peculiarity. The day before I embarked at Calcutta I called upon Sir Robert Abercromby to take leave of him, to thank him for the numerous acts of kindness I had received from him, and to see him, *in fact*, though I then little thought of such being the case, for the last time. We walked up and down his great drawing-room from one end of it to the other, for nearly I believe an hour; and speaking during part of this time of America, he told me of many things I should find there; but I do not recollect that this colloquial facility mentioned above was one of the number. If I had visited the veteran General in his retirement on the banks of the Forth (and deep is my regret that I did not), how many things I should have had to say to him about America as well as India!

Colonel O'Donald had shown his Indian predilection in the construction of his residence as well as in its name. The long low house, with a deep verandah in front, had somewhat the appearance of a pucka bungalow. It was pleasantly situated amongst fields and small woods, not far from the junction of the Patapsco with the Chesapeak. The Colonel told me that when he was in Calcutta he had a great desire to visit the interior of India, and particularly Lucnow. My journey into the same part of the country seemed to afford him considerable

interest, as did my imperial seal. He appeared to wish that he had passed more years in India and fewer in America. Nothing was omitted to testify his satisfaction at seeing me, and I should gladly have accepted his invitation to pass two or three days at Canton if time had permitted me. After a sumptuous dinner the Colonel's friends accompanied me back to Baltimore, and even to the door of my hotel. This was one of the most pleasant days I passed in America.

Though late, I went agreeably to an engagement I had made previously to take a second cup of tea with Mr. Field, and sat with him till one o'clock in the morning. I do not know what became of his picture.

9th.—At dinner to-day I sat next to Monsieur Volney and had much conversation with him about India, respecting which country he was always very inquisitive. He asked me what precautions I had adopted in my journeys there, and whether I had disguised myself. I said that as I could speak the language of the people disguise would have been easy and perhaps the safest expedient, but that I felt there was something degrading in this resource, and never adopted it except on one occasion of sudden emergency. I had also, I said, departed from the custom of some travellers in another respect. Instead of passing for a person of no consequence I assumed all the importance I was entitled to, and sometimes indeed rather more. This put me in relation with the chiefs of the country, and the heads of towns and villages, and placed my party in some measure under the responsibility and protection of the official authorities. Instead of entering a town as a person desiring concealment, I announced my arrival by the most intelligent and best dressed of my suite, and asked for everything that a stranger of consideration had a right to expect. As far as my means would allow I travelled with a force calculated to command respect on common occasions as an escort, and capable of making a good defence in case of attack. When I thought that my guard was not proportioned

to some particular danger we were likely to encounter, I sent to the aumil or governor of the country, or to the chief of the place, and, stating who I was, asked for such an increase of force as he himself judged necessary; and on these occasions I never met with a refusal. I added that though I did not adopt disguise in the usual sense of the word, I so far assumed the national dress as not to shock the prejudices of the people or excite an inconvenient degree of curiosity; but that so far from adopting this step as a deception, I always left enough of my proper character to show the inhabitants that my object was to conciliate and not to mislead them. Monsieur Volney expressed his concurrence with these plans, and said he would adopt them if he should ever gratify his desire of visiting India, as he believed he might, but for the length of the sea voyage. He described what he suffered on coming from France to America, and said he could not think of another voyage without horror.

After dinner Monsieur Volney and I walked out together. He told me he should probably publish some account of America. He examined things as we went about very minutely, and in some of his surveys made me his assistant. Having taken the measure of my step, he requested me to walk from one side of the street to the other, while he with his pocket-book in his hand counted the number of my paces, and noted down their equivalent in feet. We went also into one of the principal churches. But though I was gratified with this unexpected intercourse with so distinguished a man, I cannot say that Monsieur Volney pleased me much. He was cold and satirical. I did not perceive that he had any communication with any one at Baltimore but myself. I concluded that the political troubles in which he had been engaged, and the persecution which had banished him from his country, had caused this splenetic unsociableness or increased a constitutional irritability. He was little pleased with America, and where he was not pleased he expressed himself with much severity. As a philosopher he might be expected to see with less surprise

and dissatisfaction the imperfections of a new state, so remote from the improvements and influence of Europe; and as the guest of America he might be expected to repay her hospitality with more urbanity and indulgence.

In the evening I met with surprise Mr. Pringle, the supercargo of the *India*. I received a visit from Mr. Grove, merchant, of Baltimore, and connected, I understood, with Mr. Gilmore's house. Mr. Gilmore wished me to make some communications to him respecting the commerce of India.

Although Baltimore is the principal town of Maryland as to population and commerce, Annapolis, about thirty miles distant, is the seat of the provincial government. The population of the town was said not to exceed 20,000; that of the state was about 350,000, of which nearly the third part were slaves, employed principally in the cultivation of tobacco and wheat, the staple commodities of the export trade. Baltimore was founded by Lord Baltimore in the reign of Charles the First.

10*th May*.—At 6 A.M. I set out for Philadelphia. Among the passengers who almost filled the waggon was Mr. Hancock, son of Mr. Hancock of Massachusetts, the countryman and colleague of Mr. Adams, the Vice-President. A trifling circumstance showed the general feeling of respect towards General Washington. Mr. Hancock having learned that I was bearer of the picture of the General, communicated this incident to the rest of the company, upon whom it seemed to make an extraordinary impression, procuring me their congratulations on being honoured with such a charge, and particular marks of their attention during the remainder of the journey.

Breakfasted at Harford. Stopped a few minutes at Charlestown, from the neighbourhood of which is a fine view of the Chesapeak. Dined at Havre-de-Grace. The dinner, though not remarkable for its excellence, afforded by its singularity much amusement. The first dish being pork, to which one of the passengers, a Frenchman, had a great dislike, he waited for the second, but this being pork also, his national irritability was

much excited and broke through all bounds when he found that the remaining dishes were only varieties of the same hated food. The Frenchman, who had perhaps calculated on a fine trout from the Susquehannah, expressed his dissatisfaction in very warm terms; and when finally a rather high bill was placed before us, he positively refused his share of the contribution. The American *in*sisted, the Frenchman *re*sisted, and seconded his declaration by twice raising his knife and striking the handle of it with great violence against the table. It would have been fortunate if his resentment had ended here, for lifting up his knife a third time, while he looked angrily at the master of the inn, he brought the end of it down, not upon the table, but on his plate and broke it to pieces. The landlord was far from disposed to soothe the increased vexation of his offended guest, but said with an air of triumph, "Monsieur will now pay for the dinner and the plate too"; and in fact instead of reducing his bill or the Frenchman's portion, he charged as liberally for his porcelain as for his pork; leaving the Frenchman no other satisfaction than that of complaining during the rest of the journey that he had paid dear for a dinner he had not eaten, and for more plates than he had broken. For myself I not only made a good dinner, the pork being excellent, but learned a circumstance which itself was worth my share of the reckoning. I was informed that great numbers of pigs were turned loose into the woods of the Susquehannah, where they run wild, living and growing fat upon the acorns and nuts of various sorts which abound there. Before winter the poor animals are hunted, and such as are caught—for many probably escape—are killed for home consumption and exportation. I was told that a similar plan was adopted in other parts of Maryland, and it most likely extended to other states.

I had heard on board the *India*, and indeed Sir Robert Abercromby had before mentioned the circumstance to me, that in some parts of America the pigs were fed on peaches. I now found that this was the fact, and not so extraordinary a one as

it had at first seemed to be. I had observed to-day, as I had in other parts of Maryland, that almost every farmhouse and cottage had a peach orchard attached to it, as an apple orchard would be in England. The peaches were distilled into brandy, but the pigs fed upon the refuse, as well as upon such fruit as fell from the trees.

As we crossed the Susquehannah, I cast a farewell look upon the wild beauties of that river. It was dark before we reached the "Head of Elk." Here things were much changed since I passed before. There was indeed the same number of beds in the room, but the landlord was no longer surly, but extremely civil, and gave us a supper that made the best possible amends to the Frenchman for the loss of his dinner.

11*th May*.—Leave the "Head of Elk" at five o'clock. Breakfast at Newark, and at three in the afternoon reach Philadelphia. Finding dinner prepared at the inn, I dined there and afterwards proceeded to Fourth Street, where Mr. and Mrs. Francis, and the good-tempered negress, and all my friends, were glad to see me. My notes say, "Glad to get to a good mattress again." In the evening I went to the play, the "Mogol tale."

The excursion which I had made had quite succeeded. The country, towns, villages, state of society, were full of interest in their present condition, while their futurity presented a picture the most pleasing—the forests I had passed through converted into fertile plains, and the solitary banks of the Potomac, the Susquehannah, the Elk, and the Patapsco, covered with a free and intelligent population. One of the many improvements already spoken of is the junction of the Chesapeak and Delaware by cutting through the isthmus which now separates them. There will then be an inland water communication between Philadelphia, Annapolis, Alexandria, and Washington.

12*th May*.—Hearing that the American ship *Atlantic* would sail in a few days for England, I walked down to the

Delaware, and, liking the appearance of the vessel, I took my passage in her, engaging one of the state-rooms, a name rather absurdly bestowed upon a very small berth by the side of the great cabin or public-room, and feebly lighted from it by a glass in the door. The ship appeared to be about 300 tons, or nearly the size of the *India*. Called afterwards at Mr. Bingham's, where I found my Cabul sheep grazing in good health on the garden lawn. Visited Dr. Ross and other friends.

13*th May*.—At one o'clock to-day, I called at General Washington's with the picture and letter I had for him. He lived in a small red brick house on the left side of High Street, not much higher up than Fourth Street. There was nothing in the exterior of the house that denoted the rank of its possessor. Next door was a hairdresser. Having stated my object to a servant who came to the door, I was conducted up a neat but rather narrow staircase, carpeted in the middle, and was shown into a middling-sized, well-furnished drawing-room on the left of the passage. Nearly opposite the door was the fireplace, with a wood-fire in it. The floor was carpeted. On the left of the fireplace was a sofa, which sloped across the room. There were no pictures on the walls, no ornaments on the chimney-piece. Two windows on the right of the entrance looked into the street. There was nobody in the room, but in a minute Mrs. Washington came in, when I repeated the object of my calling, and put into her hands the letter for General Washington, and his miniature. She said she would deliver them to the President, and inviting me to sit down, retired for that purpose. She soon returned and said the President would come presently. Mrs. Washington was a middle-sized lady, rather stout; her manner extremely kind and unaffected. She sat down on the sofa, and invited me to sit by her. I spoke of the pleasant days I had passed at Washington, and of the attentions I had received from her granddaughter, Mrs. Law.

While engaged in this conversation, but with my thoughts

turned to the expected arrival of the General, the door opened, and Mrs. Washington and myself rising, she said, "The President," and introduced me to him. Never did I feel more interest than at this moment, when I saw the tall, upright, venerable figure of this great man advancing towards me to take me by the hand. There was a seriousness in his manner which seemed to contribute to the impressive dignity of his person, without diminishing the confidence and ease which the benevolence of his countenance and the kindness of his address inspired. There are persons in whose appearance one looks in vain for the qualities they are known to possess, but the appearance of General Washington harmonised in a singular manner with the dignity and modesty of his public life. So completely did he *look* the great and good man he really was, that I felt rather respect than awe in his presence, and experienced neither the surprise nor disappointment with which a personal introduction to distinguished individuals is often accompanied.

The General having thanked me for the picture requested me to sit down next the fire, Mrs. Washington being on the sofa on the other side, and himself taking a chair in the middle. He now inquired about my arrival in America, my voyage, my late journey, and his granddaughters Mrs. Law and her sister, who had accompanied me to Alexandria. He asked me my opinion of that town, and seemed pleased with the account I gave of the extraordinary activity I had observed there. In the course of the conversation I mentioned the particular regard and respect with which Lord Cornwallis always spoke of him. He received this communication in the most courteous manner, inquired about his lordship, and expressed for him much esteem. Speaking about the intercourse between India and America, I said that I thought the United States had gained a great point by the right of trading conceded by the thirteenth article of Mr. Jay's treaty, and I mentioned at the same time the facilities of which this commerce was susceptible,

to the equal advantage of America and India, now that it rested upon a legal basis.

I stated these opinions because the treaty in question, which had been approved by the existing Government, had caused some unreasonable animadversion amongst the opposers of the administration at this period. I observed that the measure was one to which the East India Company might object, as interfering with their chartered privileges, although in a manner favourable to the commercial population of India, but that it was in every respect advantageous to the United States, enlarging a communication that before was confined, and legalising what was arbitrary and subject to prohibition.

The General asked me some questions about Calcutta, the natives of India, the Ganges, and the interior of the country. Upon my inquiring if coal had yet been found in the states of the Union, he said that it had been discovered in various parts, and that mines would doubtless be opened and worked, when the diminished abundance of wood should direct the public attention to this subject.

After sitting about three-quarters of an hour, I rose to take leave, when the General invited me to drink tea with him that evening. I regret to say that I declined this honour on account of some other engagement—a wrong and injudicious decision, for which I have since reproached myself. No engagement should have prevented my accepting such an invitation. If forwardness on such occasions be displeasing, an excess of delicacy and reserve is scarcely less to be avoided. However, this private intercourse with one of the most unblemished characters that any country has produced had entirely satisfied me, and greatly exceeded my previous expectations, which had been limited to the usual transient introduction at a public levee. This, then, forms one of my most memorable days. The moment when the great Washington entered the room, and Mrs. Washington said, "The President," made an impression on my mind which no subsequent years can efface.

The General's age was rather more than sixty-four. In person he was tall, well-proportioned, and upright. His hair was powdered and tied behind. Although his deportment was that of a general, the expression of his features had rather the calm dignity of a legislator than the severity of a soldier. He was born in Virginia, and was now contemplating his final retirement to Mount Vernon, his favourite residence, situated in that state, a few miles only below Alexandria. Shortly after the period of my introduction, he expressed his intentions in a feeling address, of which the following are a few extracts :—

Friends and Fellow-Citizens—The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time being actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper to conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those of whom a choice is to be made. I confidently hoped it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I am not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. Every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary as it is welcome. Satisfied that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid me.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me. The constancy of your support was the essential prop of my efforts, and the guarantee of my plans. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to the grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence ; that your union and brotherly love may be perpetual ; that the free constitution which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained ; that its administration in every part may be stamped with wisdom and virtue ; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is a stranger to it.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations ; cultivate peace and harmony with all. How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I

have been governed by the principles which I have delineated, the public records, and other evidences of my conduct, must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them. Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable I have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence: and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest. Relying on its kindness in this and other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and family for several generations, I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realise, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, of the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever-favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our cares, labours, and dangers.

General Washington had retired to Mount Vernon at the close of the war, and remained there till 1789, when the general voice of his country called him from his pastoral pursuits to the Presidency of the Government. He was re-elected to this office in 1793. His healthy and robust appearance, when I saw him, seemed to promise a longer enjoyment of repose in his retirement near the banks of the Potomac; but a cold caught at Mount Vernon on the 13th December 1799, terminated his life on the following day.

14*th*.—Visited the National Museum. Amongst a collection of curiosities, yet in its commencement, I saw my great shell.

15*th*.—Being unwell, I spent the greater part of this day at home. Packed and prepared for my voyage.

Sunday, 16*th*.—In a sermon Dr. Priestley preached to-day, he referred to what I had said to him about the Hindoos. Dined with Mr. Bingham, Mr. Baring, Count de Noailles, and several members of the two Houses of Congress—in all a large party. After the company had retired, remained with the family[1] and Mr. Baring.

[1] The family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Bingham, and two daughters, the eldest of whom was afterwards married to the Mr. Baring here mentioned, afterwards Lord Ashburton.

17*th.*—Saw Captain Langford, and found that his ship, the *Atlantic*, would not sail for some days. In consequence of this delay, I determined to set out for New York, to endeavour to find out a friend there, about whom I could obtain no information. We had been intimate at school before I sailed for India; and though our wide separation—he in the New World, I in the Old—had put an end to all communication, it had not diminished my regard for him. I took my place in the New York stage-waggon for the next day.

18*th.*—At 5 P.M. start for New York with other passengers. The carriage was exactly similar to those already described. The first stage was through Frankfort, Holmsburgh, and Harlington, inconsiderable villages nearly at equal distances from each other, to Bristol, twelve miles from Philadelphia. The Delaware was only a short distance from us, on our right, but was not visible. Its course here was about south-west, and our direction was nearly parallel to it, or north-east. Having changed horses at Bristol, we passed through the hamlets of Tullytown and Tyburn to Morrisville, or Morristown, as it is also called, and soon after arrived on the banks of the Delaware, here considerably less wide than at Philadelphia. A large flat-bottomed boat took us over to Trenton, a small town, but the metropolis of the State of New Jersey, which we entered here. This is the highest point to which the Delaware is navigable, there being falls above the ferry, similar to those on the Potomac above Georgetown, and both apparently proceeding from the same cause, the depression or lower level of the country east of the Blue ridge.

Trenton was the scene of a brilliant exploit of General Washington during the late war. A regiment of Hessians, in the pay of Great Britain, being stationed there, Washington formed a plan for surprising it. Having thrown some troops across the river, just below the falls, to get into the rear of the enemy and cut off their retreat, he fixed upon the night of Christmas Day for passing the river himself at the ferry, and

notwithstanding the greatest obstacles, arising from the darkness and from the difficulty of the passage, obstructed by ice, succeeded in surprising the detachment so completely that he took 900 men and several pieces of artillery.

19*th.*—At Trenton we left the Delaware and proceeded in a north-eastern direction across New Jersey. Early in the morning we reached Princeton, another place like Trenton and Brandywine, grateful to the recollection of the Americans; General Washington having in the year 1777, not long after his success against the Hessians, surprised and dislodged a considerable British force stationed here. Princeton possesses one of the largest colleges in the United States. Its situation between two of the principal cities of the Union appears favourable to such an institution, particularly as the position is pleasant and salubrious. It is a large stone building, not far from the roadside. I walked towards it while the waggon stopped, but had not time to see the interior. Its library was said to exceed 3000 volumes.

At the distance of eight miles from Princeton we reached Brunswick, situated on the banks of the Raritan river, about twelve miles from its entrance into Raritan Bay at Perth-Amboy. Here also is a college called Queen's College. Small sea craft passing through Raritan Bay can come nearly as high as the handsome bridge which has lately been built at this town. We next passed through Elizabethtown, pleasantly situated upon a small stream of which I did not learn the name. It doubtless flowed from the line of hills in the interior, and ran into Raritan Bay.

Seven miles farther we came to Newark, which I thought one of the neatest and prettiest towns I had seen. I was told that many families of Dutch extraction resided here, and it appeared that they kept up their national habits of order and cleanliness. I was struck with the pleasant situation of some white, detached houses which I observed on some high ground a few hundred yards to the left of the road. I told my com-

panions that if I settled in America, I should be induced to prefer that spot to any I had yet seen.

Soon after leaving Newark we came to the edge of a steep hill leading down to a long wooden bridge over the Passaic. The waggon being full, the driver stopped, and begged a negro, who was sitting by his side, to walk down the hill; and but for the inconvenience of getting out of the waggon, he would probably have desired the other passengers to do the same. The inability of the horses to keep back the carriage was soon apparent, and became more manifest every moment. They twice however succeeded in checking it for an instant, but were overpowered by the weight, and forced forward with greater violence than before, and were so little under command that it seemed not improbable, even if we got to the bottom of the descent, that we should either run against the bridge or go into the river, to which there was a wide opening on each side. Again, however, the wheelers throwing themselves back stopped the waggon, but the leaders, for some reason or other, got round with their heads towards the hill. In this state of disorder it was difficult to foresee what would be the effect of the next plunge. It was evident, at all events, that this was the moment for escaping from the carriage. This idea seemed to strike all the passengers at once, for all were in motion scrambling to get out. To such as were upon the front and hindmost benches there was no great difficulty, but they who, like myself, were upon the middle seat could not stir till the others made way; and there was no time to lose. Finding, therefore, that I could not get out either behind or before, I mounted upon the side rail and jumped, or rather dropped down, for I was so doubled by the roof and so kept back by the great leather curtain that it was quite impossible to make a proper spring; and I consequently fell perpendicularly down before the off hind-wheel, and reaching the ground in a bent position I rolled under the waggon, or rather, partly under it, so that the wheel must have passed over me if one of the passengers, who had escaped from behind,

had not run and drawn me clear. The leaders having been pulled straight, the wheelers again threw themselves forward, and before I was upon my legs all four went off at full gallop, my companions in the middle seat still in their places, not having had time to escape. It was painful to see the danger to which these persons and the coachman were exposed, for it seemed very doubtful whether the latter would be able to hit the bridge, which was much narrower than the opening on either side, leading to the water. But we soon had the satisfaction of seeing the stage safe upon the planks, along which it went at a great rate, the driver not being able to stop the horses. The negro, who had now reached the middle of the bridge, hearing the carriage come clattering behind him, got out of the way, not however to ensure his own safety, but to risk his life in a daring attempt to save the persons still in the waggon. He held himself close to the side of the bridge ready to make a dash, and when the leaders came opposite to him, sprang forwards and seized the bridle of the near horse. All, however, still continued to gallop, dragging the negro with them; but this bold African kept his hold, and the driver pulling at the same time they were stopped a short distance beyond the bridge.

My attention had been so engaged with this singular spectacle that I had scarcely thought of a cut I had received on my right leg. I could not very well tell how this happened, whether by a stone in the road or by my having grazed against the hind-wheel as I fell. One of the passengers kindly lending me his arm, I crossed the bridge and resumed my place in the waggon. My leg becoming very painful, the passengers seated before me obligingly made room for me to rest it on their bench, and were in every respect most polite and civil. Four miles farther we came to a bridge over the Hackinsac, a small river that runs into Newark Bay. Two miles farther the country became low and wet, having the appearance of a great swamp formed by the inundations of the Hudson, which we were now approaching, or by the encroachment of the waters of

Raritan Bay, which may be considered the Chesapeak of the Jersey States. The road across this marsh was formed by trees laid across it and covered with earth. Though we went slowly here, the jolting as the wheels passed from tree to tree was very great, and caused much uneasiness to my leg, which had swelled considerably.

After a mile and a half of this most rough road we arrived at Pawles Hook, situated on the edge of New York Bay, and immediately opposite that city. Though yet but a small village, it reminded my companions of an event honourable to the arms of their country, a British post having been surprised here during the war by Major Lee, one of the most distinguished officers of the American army. Here we embarked in a large boat, and the wind being favourable, had a fine sail across the bay, whose width exceeded two miles. The view of New York in front, of the more expanded bay and three small islands to the right, and the Hudson on our left, was magnificent. I could neither conceal nor express the surprise and delight it afforded me.

Having landed at a quay in the eastern part of the city, we proceeded through several narrow streets to the inn. The state of my leg would have induced me to remain here, but the situation was not desirable, and a noted boarding-house at the end of Broadway had been particularly recommended to me. The same friendly Samaritan from whom I had already received so much attention became my guide to it, but on our way he prevailed on me to accompany him first to a surgeon, a friend of his. In a country where a gentleman's coachman is obliged to be his own smith, it was not surprising that a surgeon should be an apothecary, as no beggarly account of empty *bottles* showed this practitioner to be. I had much difficulty in persuading my kind companion to leave me in the hands in which he had placed me, nor would he consent to this till his friend had ascertained that my leg was not materially injured, though the necessity, he announced whilst dressing it, of a few days'

rest was particularly unwelcome, on account of the sailing of the *Atlantic*, in which I had taken my passage, as well as of the mortification of being confined to my room during my stay in New York.

I easily found my way to the great boarding-house, but the first thing I learned here was that every room was engaged. This was a great disappointment to me, both on account of my lameness and the singular advantage of the situation, the house being close to the Battery which had formed so fine an object in our passage across the river, and from which there is a view which has not, perhaps, many rivals in the world, commanding the bay of New York, four miles wide, and its three islands, the Hudson, the Jersey shore, the opening into Newark Bay, and the whole length of the river to Fort La Fayette on the northern, and Sandy Hook on the southern shore of the entrance into the Atlantic. All this, enlivened by the great passage to Pawles Hook, on the Jersey shore, and the numberless sails employed in the great maritime and inland commerce of New York, presented a splendid scene, and made me regret that I could not be admitted into Mrs. Hodge's boarding-house, the "Star and Garter" of this fine prospect. I accordingly hobbled back up Broadway, and then turned to the right, nearly in the direction of the quay at which I had landed, inquiring as I went for a good tavern, but could not hear of one. Everybody recommended me to Mrs. Hodge's, the house I had just left.

It being now almost dark, and my leg becoming more inflamed and painful, I allowed a civil man, to whom I applied in the street, to conduct me to a small boarding-house not far from the city hall, which we passed. The kind behaviour of the ladies who received me, the real concern they expressed at the state in which I presented myself, satisfied me that the dull little room which they showed me was, as they declared, the best they had, and induced me to accept it thankfully. These good women soon had tea ready for me in their parlour, and their attentions at once banished all regret that the window of

my chamber did not look upon the fine view from the Battery. They expressed some surprise when they found that I came from India. I hoped to obtain some information from them about Mr. Shaw, but they were not acquainted with him.

20*th*.—After breakfasting with the ladies of the house, I walked to my surgeon, who still urged rest, the most inconvenient remedy in my present position. Neither could he give me any information about my schoolfellow. But I recollected hearing the latter speak of his uncle, Mr. John Shaw, and having obtained *his* address, I went to his house. He received me in the American way, with his hat on, at the top of his steps, and without any invitation to walk in. He evinced but little interest in my inquiries, and seemed to know but little about his nephew; but he told me where I might hear of him, and with this information I set off. I judged from this interview that the uncle and nephew were not upon the best terms,—a notion, indeed, with which I had been somewhat impressed before.

I found out the small street and small house to which I had been directed, but was told by the maid who opened the door that Mr. Gabriel Shaw was not in New York. Two ladies of the house, to whom I desired the maid to introduce me, confirmed this unexpected intelligence, with the kindest expression of sympathy in my disappointment. They said he was absent with some friends on a foot excursion, and that the time of his return was uncertain. I left my address and promised to return the next morning. I spent the rest of the day at my lodging, principally in the agreeable society of the ladies of the house. I was the only lodger, but two or three gentlemen came to dinner.

21*st*.—Called at Mr. Shaw's lodging, but the ladies could only repeat what they had told me the preceding day. Mr. Shaw's return being thus uncertain, I should have set out for Philadelphia immediately, if my lameness had permitted me to travel, for I was much afraid of losing my passage in the

Atlantic. I remained at home till the afternoon, and then walked with my stick to the quays, situated upon the entrance into East River, a narrow channel which separates Long Island from the Continent. I saw many vessels, principally American, alongside the wharfs, to which there is a direct and safe access from the sea, through the fine bay, called the Bay of New York, formed by the Hudson in the lower part of its course, a spacious navigation of only twenty miles from the Narrows, or entrance from the Atlantic Ocean. With these advantages, New York, for maritime communication, possesses an evident superiority over Philadelphia, Baltimore, Alexandria, and Washington, and may consequently be considered the first port of the United States. It possesses other advantages not less evident, in an extraordinary facility of intercourse with an extensive and already populous interior, by means of the Hudson river, navigable for small sloops for nearly 200 miles from the sea, thus affording a communication with Albany, 150 miles above New York, and thence with the whole country bordering upon Lakes Erie, Ontario, and Michigan, the first 230 miles in length, the second 180, and the last, which is entirely American, 300.

Albany, situated on the west bank of the Hudson, half-way between these lakes and New York, can hardly fail of acquiring great commercial importance, as the vast countries which encircle these inland seas shall advance in population and prosperity. I heard an intelligent American—and few are the Americans who are not intelligent upon every subject requiring judgment and foresight—declare that if he were to buy land anywhere, he would prefer Albany to any spot in the Union. The only circumstance unfavourable to this position, that I heard of, was the impetuosity of the Hudson, which rendered its navigation slow and expensive, and somewhat dangerous. It was observed, however, that this same rapidity of the current prevented the accumulation of ice, by which most of the American rivers are obstructed for a considerable time during the winter.

From the quays in Water Street, along the shores of the East river, I rounded the point till I came to the Battery at the end of Broadway, and from the handsome promenade which has been made here I contemplated with more leisure than the first evening the admirable view this spot commands. I recalled to my recollection the principal cities I had seen, and could find no one in this review whose situation was at once so advantageous and beautiful as that of New York. The only defect I could perceive was its apparent exposure in time of war. An enemy's squadron could in the present state of defence sail through the Narrows, and anchor before the city in three or four hours. I do not know how far the small batteries which I saw on Governor's and Ellis's Islands could be rendered available against such an aggression; but these isles seemed placed as the outworks of this position.

I was too lame to walk up the whole length of Broadway. I was told that it extended two miles, but as it was usual in America to reckon *as* streets, such as were only *contemplated*, and not yet begun, it was not easy to know how much of this great length was imaginary. Although the beauty of New York is, for the present, confined to its position, it possessing no very good street but Broadway, and no pre-eminent building except the Federal Hall, it is, upon the whole, the most agreeable as well as the most flourishing city in the United States, combining the cheerfulness and commercial activity of Baltimore with the extent and population of Philadelphia. It was founded early in the seventeenth century by the Dutch, conducted by Hudson, an Englishman, who gave his name to the river; but the settlement comprehending the States of New York and Jersey was called the New Netherlands.

New York is about 200 miles south-west of Boston, and 100 miles north-east of Philadelphia.

During the greater part of the war the city was occupied by the British forces. These having landed on Long Island in 1776, and gained the battle of Flatbush, General Washington evacu-

ated the city, and the English taking possession of it, kept it, I believe, without interruption till the definitive ratification of peace in 1783.

The melancholy affair of Major André, aide-de-camp of General Clinton, the British Commander-in-chief, occurred during the occupation of New York by the British headquarters. In September 1778, the American army being at West Point, a fort upon the Hudson, forty miles above New York, the British General was very desirous of getting possession of that important post, and his views in this respect were favoured by the treachery of General Arnold, of the American army. Under the pretext, it is said, of negotiating some point between the two parties, General Clinton sent Major André to West Point; but the real object of the mission was to communicate secretly with Arnold, and to receive from him such information as would facilitate the acquisition of the place. These interviews having, however, excited suspicion, the Major was arrested one day as he was leaving the American lines, and being searched, the plan of the fort of West Point and of its approaches was found on him.

Although the general who adopts this ignoble mode of warfare is more reprehensible than the selected subaltern who, from a principle of subordination and obedience, sacrifices his life and honour in an action he disapproves, still this unfortunate discovery placed Major André in a situation of extreme peril. Neither the desire of the two generals to take upon themselves exclusively the criminality of this transaction, nor the humanity of General Washington, nor the youth nor accomplishments of Major André could rescue this officer from his fate. Tried and condemned as a spy, he was executed not far from West Point in the year 1780, to the grief of his enemies and friends.

While I reflected on this deplorable event near the scene on which it occurred, it was consolatory to think that this tragical history, so far from exciting resentment at the present day produced, on the contrary, an honourable sentiment of

pity and respect. This generous feeling often called the citizens of New York to West Point, there to contemplate this catastrophe, and pluck a blade of grass from the unfortunate André's grave. Mr. Shaw was now absent from New York, with a few friends, on one of these excursions.

Arnold, whose memory every American despises, and no Englishman respects, escaped to the British army. He afterwards went to England, and, I believe, survived his disgrace many years.

22*nd*.—The inflammation and swelling in my leg much reduced. After breakfast I walked to the Museum, the only kind of exhibition yet to be seen in America. It was an older and more extensive collection than the similar one at Philadelphia. It consisted principally of shells and fossils, and arms and dresses of the Indian tribes. There was also a machine, said to exhibit perpetual motion. It consisted of a number of small glass tubes, filled with a red fluid, which ran down some of the tubes, and ascended others, with an activity that seemed likely to hold out for the time a spectator would stop to observe it. I was sorry I had no eastern curiosity for this collection also.

I had intended to view the interior of the Federal Hall, but was obliged to satisfy myself with looking at the outside. The American eagle and thirteen stars were the principal ornaments. The most interesting part was the spacious gallery in front, it being here that General Washington, when drawn from his retreat at Mount Vernon, was inaugurated President, taking the oath of fidelity to his country before Chancellor Livingstone, the senate and representatives, and thousands of spectators.

I next walked to the Fish-market, considered by the people of the United States the first in America, and by the inhabitants of New York the first in the World. I was inclined to think there might be some ground for this pretension. It is said to exhibit eighty sorts of sea-fish. The Americans, who are *newer* and plainer in nothing than in their choice of names,

whatever the object may be, have given the appellation of *sheepshead* to the most esteemed fish of their coast. I had no opportunity of judging of its much boasted excellence, nor of the superiority of their oysters, so strongly contended for by all Americans who have had an occasion of comparing them with the oysters of Europe.

I did not call upon Gabriel Shaw, because I knew he would call upon me in case of his return; but went to the play to see a celebrated actress, the Siddons of America, and sister indeed of *the* Mrs. Siddons of the London stage. Mrs. Whitelock (the name of this lady) bore a considerable resemblance to her sister, both in person and in acting.

23*rd*.—The ladies with whom my young friend lodged could give me no information about him. They were extremely polite and kind, and seemed to feel a regret equal almost to my own. I now, therefore, proceeded at once to the stage-waggon office, and took my place for that afternoon. Though disappointed as to the chief object of my visit to New York, the sight of the city and of its admirable position had afforded me much pleasure. My lameness, however, had subjected me to some privations. I had called upon Mr. Bayard, who had a brother in Bengal, and found him much disposed to show me every attention; but lame as I was, I was obliged to decline invitations. The amiableness of the family with whom I lodged rendered very agreeable the many hours I passed in their company. I wished, some years afterwards, to send them some token of my remembrance of their attentions from Bengal, but had not preserved their name or address—a blamable negligence which I much regretted.

At a little after twelve o'clock I took my seat in the stage-waggon, with only two passengers, and these were not going far. At the pretty Dutch town of Newark one of them got out, and at Elizabethtown the other, when the jolting of the uncharged machine became almost insupportable. I moved from bench to bench, as a landsman does about a ship, to discover the part which has the least motion. I at length stretched myself across

the seats, but the bounds of the carriage rendered sleep, or rest even, impossible on this uneven couch. The driver, accustomed as he was to these trials, was quite disposed to mingle his complaints with mine. I could not but pity his hard service, which seemed to be as injurious to health as the roughness of a camel's pace. The night was dark and rainy, and yet he had no light to enable him to select the best part of the road. At length, after having passed the Rakway, a small stream I had not before noticed, we reached New Brunswick. Here, while changing horses, I procured some straw, and making myself a bed upon the floor of the waggon under the benches, stretched myself upon it during the rest of the night.

Having again passed through Princeton and Trenton, we recrossed the Delaware, and early in the morning reached Bristol. Here, after the roughest night's journey I had ever had in a stage-coach, I determined to take a few hours' sleep, and to hire a horse after breakfast to take me to Philadelphia, distant only one stage. I accordingly ordered a bed at the inn, at which we stopped to change horses; but after a long halt, during which I remained about the dark staircase and passage, no room of any kind was shown me. Concluding, therefore, that there was no desire to receive me, I decided upon coming on with the waggon, and reached Philadelphia in time for Mrs. Francis's breakfast cakes.

24*th May*.—After breakfast I walked down to the Delaware, where I found the *Atlantic* ready for sea, and the Captain told me she would sail immediately. I accordingly ordered my trunks on board, and purchased hay for my cow and sheep. The latter I still found on Mr. Bingham's lawn. Dined with Mr. Adams and the Members of Congress, who welcomed my return with great civility.

25*th*.—Called upon Dr. Priestley and Dr. Ross, and Mr. and Mrs. Bingham. At the house of the latter I was highly gratified to find Mr. Gilmore and his daughter, who had just arrived from Baltimore. I walked with Miss Gilmore to show her

my Bengal cow, and afterwards stopped some time at Mr. Bingham's. As I was walking up Chestnut Street this afternoon a tall gentleman in a blue coat, on the opposite side, was pointed out to me as Monsieur Talleyrand. I concluded he had not yet been to Washington. With a little more of that presumption which is useful on some occasions, though often offensive and never pleasing, I had perhaps sufficient ground for speaking to him. I understood that the Bishop, for so he was called notwithstanding his blue coat, was not upon good terms with Mr. Bingham's family, or I should probably have met him amongst the other emigrants from France at Mrs. Bingham's parties.

26*th.*—I this morning went to Bryce and Micklewaite's wharf on the Delaware to see a machine which, from the account I had heard of it, I thought might be useful in weighing goods in my father's warehouse in London, the mode in use there having often struck me as inconvenient, requiring all the ponderous weights to be removed from the scale after each weighing, in order that the empty scale might descend to the floor to receive a fresh charge, when the weights, some almost as heavy as a porter could lift, were replaced one by one—a tedious and laborious operation. The object of the contrivance I now saw was to obviate all this inconvenience by keeping the scale containing the weights suspended after the removal of the goods from the opposite scale, which thus remained flat upon the floor for a new supply, and all the trouble about the weights was merely to add or subtract a few pounds, the difference between the goods last and now weighed. This advantage was completely attained by means of a rope which passed from the extremity of the elevated beam round a movable cylinder of unequal diameter attached to the wall, with a weight fixed to the other end of the rope, and which descended as the beam rose and kept its place. I should have been glad to take a model or drawing of this simple, ingenious apparatus, the utility of which was manifest, while it was applicable at very little expense and in a very small space (being fixed high upon the

wall out of the way) in every wholesale warehouse of weighable goods.

Soon after my return to Fourth Street, as I was sitting not far from the window of the public room, I saw a young man pass and turn up our steps, who looked very like my old school-fellow. I was not mistaken. Young Shaw, not much changed in appearance, entered the room. Finding on his return from his excursion that I had been to New York to see him, he set off for Philadelphia, and had just arrived. Nothing more was wanting to complete the success of my visit to America.

27*th.*—Dr. Priestley having published a volume of discourses, and alluded in the preface to a communication I had made him, was so good as to send me a copy of his book. In return I begged him to accept a copy of my uncle's *Aristotle.*

28*th.*—The *Atlantic* being about to drop down the river to Newcastle, I sent my cow, sheep, etc., on board.

30*th.*—I dined to-day with Mr. Hamilton, a gentleman of large fortune, and formerly provincial President of the State, at his very handsome residence on the opposite bank of the Schuylkyl, not far from the floating bridge I had passed in going to Baltimore, and which I now passed again, on a horse I had hired, the planks submerging two or three inches with our weight. There was a large party at dinner, principally Members of Congress. Mr. Fisher Ames, called the Burke of America, was to have been present, but was kept away by a sudden illness that alarmed his friends. It was observed that if this illness should take a fatal turn the party to which the gentleman belonged would *miss their aims.*

Mr. Hamilton's seat was quite in the English style. The house was surrounded by extensive grounds tastefully laid out along the right bank of the Schuylkyl. After dinner the company walked upon this bank, whose slope to the water was planted with a variety of wild and cultivated shrubs. On the other side of a gravel walk which bordered these shrubberies was an extensive lawn which fronted the principal windows of the

house. As the company, broken into small parties a few yards from each other, were walking slowly along this walk, a snake, supposed to be of a venomous kind, crossed from the bushes, and disappeared in the grass on our left. Some of the company endeavouring to find it with their sticks, Mr. Hamilton said he had a gardener remarkable in respect to snakes, and the man being called soon discovered it. He said it was of a dangerous species, but that no snake ever bit him, and stooping down he seized it and held it up before us, grasped about six inches from the head, far enough to admit of the snake's turning and biting him if it had been so disposed. It darted forth its tongue, and seemed angry, but the gardener, nothing intimidated by these appearances, coolly put it into his bosom, where he covered it with his shirt, and kept it two or three minutes. I had seen nothing so extraordinary and repulsive in the way of snakes since the exhibition of the snake catchers near Benares.

After a very pleasant day at Woodlands (the name of Mr. Hamilton's elegant villa), I rode home by another floating bridge higher up the Schuylkyl. For the attentions I received from Mr. Hamilton I was indebted to the friendly civilities of his two nephews, who had been sent to England for their education, and were under the care of John Franks, Esquire, of Isleworth, my father's next door neighbour; and thus during the holidays the young Americans were *our* playfellows.

I have not noted regularly the dates of my subsequent proceedings, but the *Atlantic* having dropped down the river, I took leave of my Philadelphia friends, deeply impressed with a sense of their worth as well as of their kindness and hospitality. My friend Shaw having procured a horse and gig from a Frenchman, we set out together, on the 1st or 2nd of June, for Newcastle, taking the road by which I had already travelled when on my way to Baltimore. The first night we slept at a very indifferent inn at Chester. The next morning early I, the coachman on this occasion, for the sake of driving through America, resumed the reins, and drove to Wilmington, where we breakfasted.

Here we turned off from the Baltimore road to Newcastle, and found the *Atlantic* at anchor before the town. Walking about the streets in the afternoon I was surprised to see a pillory in the market-place. I thought the Americans in making their new laws might have omitted this degrading exhibition.

The following day I took leave of my friend when he set out on his return to Philadelphia, and I went on board the *Atlantic*, which soon after dropped down to Reedy Island, passing the spot where the British fleet anchored in 1777 after the occupation of Philadelphia by the British army. Our ships on that occasion had considerable difficulty in ascending the river, the Americans having sunk several old vessels and *chevaux-de-frise*. Old Captain Ashmead during the voyage from India used to speak of these operations, in some of which he took an active part. The next day the pilot moved the ship lower down, and the same afternoon we passed Capes May and Henlopen, and entered the Atlantic, our pilot going on board one of the boats of his establishment when we were well off the coast.

So ended my successful and agreeable visit to the United States of America, a great and fine country, destined henceforth to hold a conspicuous rank amongst nations, and to take an important part in the transactions of the world. I have ever considered my decision to return this way to England as a fortunate circumstance, producing much satisfaction at the time, and a store of matter for retrospective meditation. If India was interesting as an old country, America was scarcely less so as a new one. The two afforded those extremes of life—Age and Infancy—which a painter chooses for his pencil. Besides, the infancy of America was full of freshness and vigour, and already discovered the gigantic proportions of her future stature. The stars of her constellation had but recently appeared above the horizon ; but increasing in number, elevation, and splendour, they will hereafter shine to the most distant kingdoms of the earth.

It appeared to me that Monsieur Volney and others who had

visited this country were disappointed because they had unreasonably expected too much; and that they were unjust in blaming a state of society that could hardly be otherwise than it was. I thought it not extraordinary, much less a ground of reprehension, that the roads of America should be bad; that the stages should be called waggons, and *be* nearly such; that a republican shopkeeper should receive his customer without taking off his hat or saying more than yes or no; that the English language should be spoken more fluently than correctly.[1] In a country abounding with genius, energy, and enterprise; whose infant years have produced a Washington, a Franklin, and a Jefferson; whose improvement in the most important arts of life is advancing with an impulse unexampled in the history of any people; the imperfections inseparable from all human beginnings will gradually disappear, and often, it is not improbable, be replaced by models commanding imitation instead of sarcasm and reproach. In the meantime it is not for an inhabitant of the long established countries of Europe, for an Englishman especially, to reprobate a state of things which was so lately the bequest of the British nation.

Before mentioning the few trifling occurrences of my voyage to England, I will subjoin some miscellaneous particulars relating to the United States which I find amongst my papers. I shall transfer them just as they stand in my original notes.

The population of the United States amounted by a census taken in 1790 to nearly 4,000,000, including slaves, of which Virginia and Pennsylvania, the countries of Washington and Penn, had the largest number. Massachusetts was the first to abolish slavery, and acts of emancipation have since been passed by other states. Massachusetts sends twelve representatives

[1] Though such words as *illy*, *vended*, *to loan*, *to enterprise*, and a few others are to be met with in the least cultivated ranks of society, there are others which are allowable in America for their usefulness, as "*portage*" applied to the *distances* goods must be carried at the locks, falls, and rapids (as the Potomac has so many *portages*), and some which are admissible both for their usefulness and greater precision, as "*boatable*" as applied to shallow rivers, instead of *navigable* and *immigration*.

to Congress, New York ten, Pennsylvania thirteen, Virginia nineteen, North Carolina ten, South Carolina six, Maryland eight. The rest have, upon an average, two, three, and four, making, altogether, 105. General Washington, as President and Commander-in-chief, has a salary of 25,000 dollars per annum. The Vice-President only one-fifth of this sum. I have had the honour of being introduced to General Washington; and with Mr. John Adams, the Vice-President, Mr. John Rutherford of New Jersey, Mr. John Brown of Kentucky —a state lately added to the Union—Mr. James Gunn of Georgia, and Colonel Tatnell, senators, I have the pleasure of being personally acquainted, meeting them every day at table; as also with Mr. William Murray, the eloquent Member for Maryland, and Mr. Gilman of New Hampshire, Members of the House of Representatives. All these respectable men, amongst the most able and distinguished of their country, are of our society in Fourth Street, and show me a thousand attentions which I regret to think it can never be in my power to repay. These gentlemen, both senators and representatives, receive, I understand, six dollars a day for every day's attendance, and the same for every day's travelling to and from the seat of Government, a reasonable rate in the present stage of the country. Mr. Adams, as President of the Senate, receives twelve dollars. The Supreme Court of Judicature consists of six members; John Jay, Esq., is the President, with a salary of about £600 per annum. There are three courts in the United States—a Supreme Court, a District Court, and a Court of Circuit. Each state has three circuits, and a judge, who holds the State Court. He must hold four sessions annually. The Circuit Court is composed of one of the judges of the Supreme Court, or of more in particular cases, and the district judge.

Philosophical apparatus, if imported for any seminary of learning, books, and implements of trade, etc., belonging to persons intending to reside in the country, are exempt from duty.

The pay of a major-general is about £420 a year ; of a private, £10.

The gold coins consist of eagles, worth ten dollars each ; half and quarter, ditto. The silver coins of dollars, half and quarter ditto, dismes or tenths, and half dismes. The copper coins of cents, or one-hundredth parts of a dollar, and half cents.

There are many societies in the principal towns for the encouragement of immigration ; the great want of America in its present state being population. A poor man is considered rich if he has a large family. Irish linens are considered inferior to the American homespun, which the climate admits of being bleached without the use of drugs or of machines. Horses and horned cattle used to form a great part of the New England cargoes for the British West India Islands. New England is not favourable to the cultivation of grain. Although cotton thrives so well in the Southern States, I am informed that this article is imported from the Mauritius and Bombay. Silk is produced in Georgia and other parts of the Union. There is also abundance of iron, lead, and copper, but the high price of labour prevents the working of the mines to any great extent, particularly those of copper and lead. The beer brewers of Philadelphia use about 40,000 bushels of barley annually. A seventy-gun ship may lie at many of the wharfs of Philadelphia. The export of flour in the spring quarter of 1793 exceeded 200,000 barrels. Maple sugar is manufactured in Pennsylvania from the middle of January to the end of March. About fifty maple trees grow on an acre of land. Each tree produces annually about five pounds of sugar. It is asserted that the maple trees of the Union are capable of producing sugar for the whole population. It appears to me that the cajoor tree of Bengal might be successfully introduced into the Southern States, as also possibly the mangoe, and some other Asiatic trees. I omitted to mention this to General Washington. At present 20,000,000 lbs. of sugar are consumed annually. This quantity must increase consider-

ably and rapidly, such increase being promoted by two causes, which reciprocally strengthen each other — the progressive advancement of the population and of the comforts of the people.

The comparative value of Georgian and Mediterranean rice is 25½ in favour of the former in the English markets; that of Carolina rice a trifle higher. I have mentioned that tobacco is the staple article of culture in Maryland, but it is produced in nearly equal quantities in the states to the south of the Potomac. Maryland and Virginia are now turning their attention to wheat, Indian corn, flax, and hemp. Cotton also is now cultivated in these states. Indigo is produced in South Carolina and Georgia; in what quantities, or what its quality is, I do not know. Tar, pitch, and turpentine are produced in immense quantities in North Carolina. Live oak and red cedar abound in the Carolinas and Georgia, and Virginia is supposed to be pregnant with minerals and fossils. I have already mentioned that peach brandy is made from the peach orchards I saw on the borders of the Chesapeak, and also in North Carolina and Georgia and some parts of Pennsylvania.

The State of Massachusetts has been settled twice as long as most of the other states. A principal dependence of the Eastern and Northern States is the fisheries.

The public debt after such a war is only about £10,000,000. The moderation of the public expenditure is equally remarkable. There is no land tax and no excise, with the exception of a duty on domestic distilled spirits. The exports are five times the amount of the national taxes and duties. In the year ending the 30th September 1793 the exports amounted to 26,000,000 of dollars. All ships sail fully laden, excepting those destined for the ports of India. Almost all goods imported have a total drawback on re-exportation. No man can be convicted without the unanimous verdict of twelve jurymen. Emigrants become free citizens after a residence of two years. The intrinsic value of the silver coin is required to be equal to that of Spain. The

banks divide a profit of nearly 8 per cent. A ship of live oak of 200 tons can be fitted out for £14 currency per ton, which is said to be £6 less than the outfit of an oak ship in any part of Europe. The Delaware is generally frozen from four to nine weeks in the winter, but with occasional opportunities for ships to get out. The population of Pennsylvania in 1791 was 434,000. The museum which has my oyster-shell is called Peale's Museum, after its founder.[1]

The party with which I was now crossing the Atlantic was very small, consisting only of the Captain, a man inferior in every respect to my two preceding commanders; of the supercargo, who under the appearance, or rather perhaps with a mixture, of excessive silliness, was said to disguise the usual acuteness of his countrymen; of a silent inoffensive Scotchman, who had *gained* nothing in America, and had not lost there his native dialect; and a Mr. Cooke, a pleasing young man, of a respectable family in Philadelphia or Baltimore, who was going to Europe on his travels.

A thick fog, in which we found ourselves enveloped a few days after passing through the Gulf Stream, announced our arrival on the great bank of Newfoundland, about 100 miles from the south-east extremity of the island of that name. This great bank, so celebrated for the prodigious quantities of codfish caught upon it, is 300 miles in length and seventy to eighty broad. As we advanced upon it the density of the atmosphere so much increased that it was impossible to discover anything more than a few yards from the bowsprit, and it was necessary to keep the ship's bell ringing to warn any vessel that might be before us or any fishing-boat at anchor. When we supposed that we were upon good fishing-ground we heaved-to, and having ascertained

[1] Soon after my return to England I made a communication to Mr. Charles Grant, a leading East India Director, on the commerce between India and America. I called upon him for this purpose at his residence on Clapham Common, and was so much struck with the beauty and convenience of the situation that, looking forward at that time and for some years after to a seat on the India Direction, I always associated with this view a house on Clapham Common.

the depth, a line charged with lead and baited with a few hooks was thrown overboard. A few fresh cod would have been very acceptable, but whether from not being at a proper part of the bank, or at the proper season, or being ignorant of the right way of fishing, we caught nothing. The depth of water varies from fifteen to sixty fathoms. More than 2000 vessels are engaged in this extraordinary fishery, the greater number belonging to Great Britain and the United States.

When we had left the Great Bank a few days it was discovered that the ship had sprung a leak. The pumps were immediately worked, and kept going day and night without interruption, to the great fatigue of our small crew. The water, however, was still deep in the hold, and was increasing upon us. I could not but observe what was going on, but said nothing till it was evident that it would be impossible for us, in the present state of the vessel, to reach more than the middle of the Atlantic, and that the only prudent course was to put about before we were beyond reach of St. John's, the principal harbour in Newfoundland. I found that this too was the Captain's opinion, but he was, unfortunately, under the control of the supercargo, upon whom reason seemed to have little influence. After continuing two days and nights in this miserable manner, with the chance that by hard pumping and a fair wind we might keep the ship afloat to England, the water disturbed the position of the barrels of tar of which the cargo was partly composed, and this substance escaping and mixing with the water in the well choked and stopped the pumps.

Although no one on board was more alarmed at the situation in which the ship now was than the supercargo, she was still kept on her course. Search was made for a small cask of turpentine supposed to be on board, which, it was said, would free the pumps; but it could not be found. Still the ship was kept on. Supported by the Captain and

other passengers, I now protested against the extravagance of the supercargo, in consequence of which it was agreed that if the turpentine should not be found before twelve o'clock that day the ship's head would be put about. A more active search was made, and shortly before the expiration of the limited time the important discovery was made, and the cask brought upon deck. A small portion of its valuable contents being poured down the pumps, these were immediately cleared, and the tar at the bottom of the hold so liquified that it came up with the water. The leak, however, still continued, and obliged the poor seamen to work at the pumps day and night during the rest of the voyage.

One evening when our journey was drawing towards its close, we discovered a strange sail. Her size, as she bore down upon us, showed that she was a man-of-war, British or French. In either case the tar we had on board would be likely to cause our detention. We soon perceived that she was a three-decker, and having hoisted British colours she fired a gun for us to bring-to. The supercargo, justly fearing the detention of the ship, absurdly conceived the idea of escaping, and although he dared not order more sail to be set, he desired the Captain to disregard the signal and to keep before the wind. Scarcely was this wise manœuvre adopted before we perceived the flash of another of the bow guns of the great ship and a shot, that had passed just ahead of us, fall into the sea on the other side. This, in sea etiquette, was a civil way of letting us know that the *next* shot would be fired *at* us, and we had indeed reason to be thankful that we had not received the last.

All hands were now employed in shortening sail and heaving the ship to. The three-decker, though under easy sail, approached us fast, and offered a magnificent spectacle as she stretched across the waves with apparently very little motion. Her bows and port-holes were crowded with men, who looked down upon us. Perfect silence prevailed till broken by the

usual salutation through the speaking-trumpet, to which the following questions and answers succeeded: "What ship is that?" "The *Atlantic* of Philadelphia." "Where bound?" "To London." "What have you on board?" This question would have caused much embarrassment, on account of the tar we had on board, which we might be suspected of carrying to a French port, if such a demand had not been anticipated, and an answer to it prepared. Instead, therefore, of naming the "*tar*," the Captain replied: "Colonial produce." "Send a boat on board with your papers." "We have not a boat that will live in this sea." "Come under our stern for the night."

I deeply participated in the vexation which this order produced in our ship. But remonstrance would have been imprudent and useless, and we accordingly took our station astern of the three-decker, which we now discovered to be the *Queen Charlotte*, the flagship of Lord Keith, Commander of the Channel Fleet, which was, probably, not far off to leeward, though not in sight from our deck. After following the *Queen Charlotte* half an hour, expecting to be overhauled in the morning, we again heard the trumpet over the stern of that ship, and caught these unexpected and most welcome words: "You may make sail on your course." We immediately turned the ship's head towards England.

The next day we fell in with a pilot boat, not far from the Isle of Wight, and a pilot taking charge of the ship proceeded with her up Channel; while the supercargo and the other two passengers and myself went in the pilot boat to Cowes, passing through the Needles. We soon after crossed over to Portsmouth. Here we hired a coach and four horses, and arrived late at night at Esher, two stages from London. We continued our journey the next morning, and entered London by Blackfriars' Bridge. Having set down my companions at the London Coffee House on Ludgate Hill, I drove to Essex Street, where my grandmother still lived. This good lady walked with me to Devereux Court, where I found my father

and brothers, Richard and George, and received from them the kindest welcome. In the evening my father drove me in his curricle to Isleworth, where I had the happiness of again seeing my mother and sister Ann, and soon after my Uncle and Aunt John drove over from Twickenham.

PART V

DETACHED NARRATIVES

[My father's first stay in India, from 1792 to 1795, was characterised by travels which it was natural to record in the manner shown by the preceding pages. The second portion of his Indian life, from 1798 to 1805, was mainly devoted to high official duties less suited for forming the subject of a private journal. There are, however, among the literary remains of that period, a number of "Detached Narratives" that may serve to throw light on the state of India in those times, on distinguished persons with whom my father came in contact, and on the brilliant success of a career unfortunately cut short by the effects of a hot climate on a delicate constitution.—THOMAS TWINING (Junr.), Twickenham, July 1893.]

No. 1.—SECOND VOYAGE TO INDIA.

[The following account of certain misadventures encountered at the outset may serve to show the difficulties imposed at that time on English commerce by the war with France, which obliged the Indian traders to form a fleet under the protection of a naval squadron.]

We left St. Helens on the evening of yesterday se'nnight, but the wind getting to the west in the night, in a heavy squall we returned to our old station the next morning. We sailed finally on Monday evening, and, beating against a foul wind, had got as far down as the Eddystone when a misfortune happened. It was about eight o'clock on Thursday evening. We had been standing-in towards the shore during the afternoon, and a little before eight a signal was made by our commodore to tack about and stand off. We had obeyed this signal about ten minutes when we met the *Coutts*, a China ship more than twice as large as ourselves, on the opposite tack. I was engaged in a game of whist in the second mate's cabin below, and this officer, hearing a great noise upon deck, put his head

out of the port and exclaimed, "A ship will be foul of us." I ran upon deck, and immediately saw the danger we were in, for it was evidently too late to get clear. A shock, and a terrible one, was inevitable. I did not know what the effect of two ships coming together thus, nearly head to head, under a press of sail and the wind blowing fresh, could be, especially to the weaker vessel. The Captain, I observed, seemed to disapprove the plan the chief mate was adopting, which was to weather the other ship, and I think the preservation of the *Wycombe* was very much owing to the Captain's interference. I believe, further, that had Captain Meadows been up on deck a few moments sooner, nothing would have happened. There was a great bustle, followed by a moment of silent expectation of the shock. When the two ships were within a few yards of each other, the lofty masts and sails of the *Coutts* appeared quite above us. It seemed as if she would sink us; and it is said that had she taken us in the waist she would probably have done so. Not knowing, as I have said, what the effect would be, having never been in such a situation before, I stood firm upon the starboard and windward side of the quarterdeck, putting my left foot forwards to prevent my being thrown down, and looking at the other ship, which seemed to be coming right against our starboard-bow. The shock, when the two bows met, although it made the whole ship tremble, was less staggering than I had supposed it would be; but the crash, for which I was less prepared, was prodigious, and was followed by a shower of splinters, blocks, and ropes, which came tumbling upon deck. A heavy block that would certainly have killed any one whom it had struck on the head, fell near me, and not far from the Captain. The other ship having struck our bow, knocked it in to the water's edge, broke the cut-head, a short thick piece of wood nearly a foot square, which projects from the bow, and also the anchor-stock, destroying the tackle which held the anchor, so that this fell, and the cable ran out. The foreyard was snapped in two at the mast, as if it had been a stick, and as the ship passed along our side she shaved off our starboard portlids. The forestay being broken, the foremast racked aft almost to the mainmast. The great ship sailed on, apparently uninjured, while we remained a wreck on the water, the sails aback, the anchor out, the sea pouring in at the bow, and everything in disorder.

Upon our making a signal of distress the Commodore made a signal ordering us to proceed to the nearest port. The nearest port

was Plymouth, but as we could not beat against the wind in the condition in which we were, we put before it for Torbay as soon as the anchor was in and the foremast secured.

We were near Torbay the next morning, when a change of wind obliged us to turn again to the south. Though the pumps were kept going we had a good deal of water in the ship, and got on very slowly. Our chief apprehension, however, was that of falling in with a French privateer, to which, in our crippled state, we should have been an easy prey. In the forenoon we perceived a suspicious-looking vessel making towards us, but it proved to be a revenue cutter. The captain hailed us, and was extremely civil, and finally took us in tow and brought us to this port.

I have not seen Captain Meadows since the ship has been examined, but I understand that various opinions, some by no means pleasant ones, are expressed by the carpenters as to the state of the ship, and the time it will take to repair her. I believe that if I were to leave her now, most of the other passengers would do the same, and I have accordingly declared to the Captain and to them my determination to remain with him. He has indeed behaved with much spirit and promptitude throughout, and his misfortune is a severe one. It is his first voyage as commander, after a great length of service; the ship has hitherto been very unprofitable to her owners, and Mr. Woolmore, the managing owner, had placed particular confidence in him. He has made me his confidential friend on this occasion, and thinking that his conduct has been meritorious, I have endeavoured to keep the passengers together.

The ship when repaired went round from Plymouth to St. Helens again, and I joined her, outside a stage-coach, by Exeter, Salisbury, and Southampton. It was a long time before another fleet and convoy were ready; and then we had further delays and ill-luck. In a heavy gale, in a very dark night, the ships were scattered, taking different directions, and passing close to each other on different tacks. We were glad to get back to St. Helens once more. The next trial we were driven back from the mouth of the Channel to Torbay. The grand fleet joined us from off Brest, and the gale shifting to the east and blowing into the bay, they were all in great danger, depending entirely on their cables. The wind afterwards shifted again to the south-west, and kept us several weeks anchored off Brixham, a small fishing-town on the southern

side of the bay, not far from Berry Head. Here my brother Daniel, now a student at Cambridge, it being his vacation time, had the kindness to come and see me, although I might have been off on his arrival, for we were only waiting for a fair wind. He remained with me at a very small inn, or sailor's ale-house, at Torquay, a smaller but pleasanter fishing-place in the west angle of the bay, till I sailed. I do not know that I ever had a more anxious moment or a narrower escape than now. I was told one morning that the fleet had sailed in the night. In fact the anchorage, long so crowded, was without a ship. No vessel was to be seen excepting a small one that was lying-to at the edge of the bay; whether belonging to the fleet or not it was impossible to say. I got into a small boat with two men, and pushed off, my brother with me. The wind was directly against us, and a head-sea rolled into the bay. Both became worse as we advanced, and the men at last gave up. The vessel was still a long way off, and to have reached her with so small a boat would certainly have been impossible. I believe the promised reward had led the boatmen to go quite as far already as was prudent.

We now pulled for Brixham, where I meant to hire a horse or conveyance of some sort and get to Plymouth—a suggestion, alas, rather of despair than of hope, for the fleet was not likely to pass near that port, and would in any case, unless there should be a change of wind, be far beyond it before I could possibly reach it. And yet certainly I did *not* despair. I glanced indeed with deep regret, and with something like consternation, at the effect with which the news of my having lost my passage would be received by my family in London, and I felt and reproached my great folly and imprudence in being so careless; but I also felt, as usual, that my good Providence, by some way as yet unperceived by me, would lead me out of this great embarrassment.

This way soon appeared. Scarcely had we turned towards the shore before we met a large Brixham boat, under a press of sail, going along at a great rate, and evidently making for the single ship. I hailed, entreated, offered. A decisive shake of the head of the captain at the helm was the only reply. It was hardly surprising, for it was clear the ship, which must have disobeyed the signal to sail, was waiting for him. And yet by one minute's delay what a service might this man render me. But I still kept my eyes on the boat, and presently saw her bring-to. I felt as if I was landed in

India. To run alongside, shake hands with my brother, and jump on board, was the affair of a few seconds. The captain of the ship received me kindly, and, overtaking the fleet in the afternoon, put me on board my own ship, to the great surprise and joy of my fellow-passengers.

No. 2.—Arrival in India.

Madras, *9th February* 1798.

During the latter part of the voyage my health began to decline, and I believe that all our passengers would have been ill if we had remained much longer at sea. Not long after we had passed the Cape, a very early stage for such a measure, it was found necessary to reduce the seamen's allowance of water to a wine quart a day; and this limitation comprised the captain and officers, and every person in the ship. The conduct of the men in consequence became exceedingly unpleasant, though scarcely more so than might have been expected; for a quart of water per day to a man living upon salt beef and dry biscuit and working under a tropical sun, was a small allowance; and the crew seemed to have too much reason to complain of the economy or negligence which subjected them to such privation. I could well conceive and pity their distress; for though I had a small plate of soup and a few glasses of wine at the captain's table, I found two pints of water hardly enough, though used with all possible management. The men themselves attended round the cask every morning at the giving out of the water, and saw that it was fairly distributed. But *we* had also an allowance of beer, and all would probably have been well if this had been entirely withheld, or granted to the men also, or rather to the men alone. For myself, I neither desired nor profited by this indulgence, which I thought unfair and injudicious; for the beer made me so bilious as we approached the line, that I could not drink it. A poor cow we had on board was ordered to be killed; a painful measure, though apparently necessary, and perhaps merciful towards the poor animal itself. Still I could not help feeling great disgust when I saw its lean bones brought to table a few hours only after it was killed; for it had lived in our sight many months, and supplied us with milk during that time.

In this distressing state we again passed the line. The sufferings of the crew at this time were very great, but fortunately did not lead to any serious act of insubordination, though such was anxiously apprehended. It was melancholy to see the great change which had now taken place in the appearance of the men. Their countenances were pale and sickly, and their clothes hung loosely on their limbs, which seemed to have lost half their size and strength. But the oppressed feelings of the men were most visible in the languor and indifference with which they performed the duties of the ship. Instead of the run and spring of alacrity which distinguish the motions of a sailor, they executed the orders they received slowly and without life or effort, mounting the shrouds heavily and without emulation, and pulling at the ropes without spirit or effort. Instead of walking cheerfully two and two up and down the waist of the ship, they sat in silent, lifeless groups, their heads resting upon their hands, on the booms and spars of the forecastle, looking like invalids upon the benches of a hospital. At length symptoms of the sailor's great disease, the dreaded scurvy, began to appear, and advanced with such rapidity that there is reason to believe that very few of our crew would have survived if we had remained at sea three weeks longer.

All this rendered the latter part of our voyage very painful, and produced lively expressions of joy at the sight of land on Saturday last, the 3rd instant, after a passage of just nineteen weeks from Torbay, but nearly of eight months since my first going on board the ship. I am sorry to add that one of our poor fellows died of the scurvy two days ago; and another yesterday, as they were carrying him over the ship's side, to convey him to the hospital, where all our sick men are now, and in a fair way of recovery.

No. 3.—Sir William Jones.

[In the absence of details concerning my father's first arrival and stay at Calcutta, the following account of an eminent orientalist, with whom he became acquainted there, may be found interesting, and may appropriately introduce a few fragmentary notices concerning the climate, religion, and prominent peculiarities of India.]

I had a very favourable introduction to the celebrated oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, one of the judges of the King's Court

at Calcutta. It was given to me by his friend, Dr. Parr, who was also the intimate friend of my uncle Thomas of Colchester; and the Doctor had recommended me to accompany his letter with a handsomely bound copy of my uncle's late work, *A Translation of the Poetics of Aristotle.* Sir William received me, and my introduction and present, most politely. Meeting me at a public entertainment a few evenings after, he again spoke to me very kindly, expressing the great pleasure which a cursory look into my uncle's book had afforded him, and his regret that he was not able for the present to read it more regularly, his time being entirely taken up with his public pursuits. It was on this account, he said, that he saw scarcely anybody, and that he never had company to dinner. After this observation I was agreeably surprised at receiving, a few days subsequently, an invitation to dine with him. The party consisted of Sir William and Lady Jones, another gentleman, and myself. Sir William was very cheerful and agreeable. He made some observations on the mysterious word *Om* of the Hindoos, and other Indian subjects. While sitting after dinner he suddenly called out with a loud voice, "Othello! Othello!" Waiting a minute or two, and Othello not coming, he repeated his summons, "Othello! Othello!" His particularly fine voice, his white Indian dress, surmounted by a small black wig, his cheerfulness and great celebrity, rendered this scene extremely interesting. I was surprised that no one Mussulman or Hindoo answered his summons. At last I saw a black *turtle* of very large size crawling slowly towards us from an adjoining room. It made its way to the side of Sir William's chair, where it remained, he giving it something it seemed to like. Sir William observed that he was fond of birds, but had little pleasure in seeing or hearing them unless they were at liberty; and he no doubt would have liberated Othello if he had not considered that he was safer by the side of his table than he would be in the Ganges.

I passed a most pleasant day in the company of this distinguished and amiable man. He was so good as to express some approbation of my Persian studies, and repeated to me two lines of a Persian poet, and also his translation of them—

> Kill not the ant that steals a little grain;
> It lives with pleasure, and it dies with pain.

No. 4.—The Science and Religion of the Hindoos.

Among the papers collected in my journeyings was an Almanac made by the Hindoo Astronomers of Benares, where I bought it. It was in a very elegant Persian character upon fine Indian paper, the writing in black ink, the signs principally in red. It contained tables indicating the rising and setting of the sun, the phases of the moon, and the eclipses that would take place in the course of the year. I intended to translate this curious and beautiful calendar, preserving the form and plan of the original, but my official avocations, and still more the oppression I again suffered from the climate of Bengal, prevented the execution of this design. Although all the copies of this almanac are multiplied by writing alone, printing not being yet introduced among the natives of India, the cost of one is very trifling. The astronomical calculations it contains have been ascertained to be perfectly correct. I have seen multitudes of the natives, guided by these almanacs, assembled to observe an eclipse which had been calculated with the greatest precision. Indeed, this precision is necessary for the regulation of many of the religious feasts and ceremonies of the people, both Hindoos and Mussulmen. Thus the Mussulman year, called the Hegira or Flight, in reference to the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, begins with the first moon of Cheyte, corresponding nearly with the month of March. Thousands of Mussulmen are seen most anxiously watching the first appearance of the moon at this period, and its discovery is hailed with a general expression of satisfaction.

The most ancient treatise on astronomy which the Hindoos possess is the *Surya Seddhanta*, a work which their Bramins ascribe to divine origin, at the close of the Sutya Yug, or about 2,160,000 years ago. The Yugs are certain spaces of time into which the Hindoos divide the period they suppose to have elapsed since the creation of the world. They say that the first, or Sutya Yug, lasted 3,200,000 years. This was their Golden Age, or age of virtue and purity. The age of man then was 100,000 years, and his height twenty-one cubits or thirty feet and a few odd inches. In the Tirtah Yug, or second series of years, the purity of man, as well as his life and stature, were already considerably diminished. His life was now only 10,000 years. This Yug lasted 2,400,000

years. The third division is the Dwapb Yug, which was very short, lasting only 600,000 years. This was the age of vice and deprivation. The Caly is the present Yug, and is considered the age of misfortune and suffering. It is to last 400,000 years, of which only 5000 have expired.

Before we condemn a great apparent absurdity, it is well to be sure that the misconception is not on our side. In the present instance it is said to have been discovered that the errors in the above account belong rather to us than to the Hindoos, the year adopted in these calculations not being our solar year, but a portion of time so much less as to reduce the Indian chronology to dimensions nearly commensurate with our own. According to this principle of calculation, the *Surya Seddhanta* is not a work of great antiquity, the reduction of the scale reducing everything that has been measured by it.

They have records of astronomical observations actually made at the junction of the sun and moon, 3102 years before our era, when the junction *did* take place. They have been accused of having invented this story, and to have traced the occurrence in question by calculating *backwards*. On the other hand, it is contended that such calculation is so difficult as to be less admissible than the antiquity they claim. They do not imagine, as the first Europeans who visited India supposed them to do, that the earth is the centre of the celestial motions. Their notions of the obliquity of the ecliptic are said to accord exactly with our own. The proportion of the circumference of a circle to its diameter was known to them before it was known in Europe. They state this as being 3927 to 1250.

But while they are deeply versed in astronomy, algebra, and mathematics, their knowledge of geography, of music, mechanics, painting, and medicine is very limited. They have hakums or doctors in all their principal villages, and I have known some of those who had a considerable reputation, which was merited, I believe, by much natural ability, and by their success in curing the few diseases to which the temperate population of India is subject. One of the plans I had in contemplation before I left India was that the English surgeon, Mr. Julius, residing at the chief station of the district, where he had scarcely anything to do, should be required to give instruction in medicine, and particularly in surgery, to such of the native hakums as should choose to attend for that

purpose. There was a native doctor at Santipore, whose opinion and medicines I used to take occasionally. The first thing he did was to feel my pulse like an English doctor. But though the Indian doctors consult the pulse in every part of India in which I have been, have numerous treatises on pathology, and are great phlebotomists, they are ignorant of the principle of the circulation of the blood.

The merit of their drawing is almost confined to a very accurate imitation of flowers and birds. I never saw a tolerable landscape or portrait of their execution. They are very unsuccessful in the art of shading, and seem to have very little knowledge of the rules of perspective.

Some of their books contain most exaggerated accounts of the dimensions of the earth and of the height of mountains, but much of this may be fabulous relation to give importance to the exploits of their heroes or gods, since ignorance so gross upon these topics is scarcely reconcilable with the knowledge they possess upon subjects more abstruse and further beyond their reach. If the 2,000,000 of years which they ascribe to the *Surya Seddhanta* be found to mean no more than a few hundred years, is it not possible that these apparent geographical exaggerations may be reducible in a similar proportion? I have frequently conversed with Bramins about the Flood, with the history of which they are well acquainted, but they say it did not extend to their parts of Asia, and that the Shastahs, which existed previously to that event, were thus preserved.

The year of Bengal and Behar contains 365 days and some fractions. The months are:—

Cheyte, commencing about the 10th of March, 28 days.

Bysack,	31 days.	Assin,	30 days.
Juyte,	32 „	Kartic,	„
Assar,	31 „	Aghun	„
Sarn,	32 „	Poos	„
Bhadur,	31 „	Magh	„

Phaghim, 30 days.

Although the Hindoos and Mussulmen have different months, those here given are generally adopted in all the public accounts of Bengal, Behar, and Benares.

There are various eras in different parts of Hindostan, calculated probably from some particular local event, the birth of

some great person, or some important political occurrence. The most prevalent in the parts with which I am acquainted are, in Bengal, the Fussily, used in Behar, the Willarty, the Sumbut, and the Hegira.

The Hindoos divide the day and night into sixty parts, each called Ghurry.

1 Ghurry = 60 parts or 24 minutes.
1 Pul = 60 narrys or bepuls.
1 Bepul = 60 tilk.

The Narry is equal to sixty respirations of a man in health and at rest. Such a man, according to the Ayeen Acburra, respires 360 times in the space of a Ghurry, or 21,600 times in the course of the day and night. The day is divided into four watches, and the night the same. The day extends from sunrise to sunset. The watches are divided into Ghurrys. The lapse of time is measured by means of a light conical cup, made of thin copper, with a very small hole at the bottom. This cup is placed upon the surface of a basin of water, and sinks at the expiration of a Ghurry.

In my numerous establishment, consisting of more than sixty persons, were three men, a Bramin and two assistants, whose duty it was to observe the time in this manner. They occupied a small cottage in my park, and struck the hour on a fine sounding gong suspended before their door.

The astronomical era of the Hindoos is reckoned from the beginning of the world to the creation of Brama. From the creation of Assum some say 5353 years have elapsed, others 6793. They have also the era of Bucknassar, or Nebuchadnassar.

The Hindoos are divided into four principal castes. The Bramin, who proceeded from the brain or mouth of Brama, the Keytoree from the arms, the Bies from the thighs, and the Soodra from the feet.

It is the duty of the Bramin to study the Vedahs and the sciences. According to their rules of transmigration, a Keytoree who lives virtuously, when born again, becomes a Bramin, and a Bramin who demeans himself as a Keytoree, becomes a Keytoree. Some of their books declare that the different diseases of mankind are a punishment for sin committed in a former state. Thus epilepsy is punishment for having administered poison, lameness for having kicked a Bramin. Fever comes from having killed a

Keytoree, indigestion for having robbed a house. The religious system of the Hindoos is an assemblage of unintelligible absurdities, mixed, however, with many precepts of pure morality, and even of refined philosophy. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and in a future state of rewards and punishments, in a course of successive transmigrations. They believe in the existence of an omnipotent, incomprehensible Being, the creator of the mind and soul. He created Brama that the latter might create the world and man. Brama also created Vishnu and Janan, charged with the preservation and destruction of mankind, as well as numerous other duties. Vishnu is variously represented, according to the various transmigrations ascribed to him. His image has generally four hands and several heads.

The person of a Bramin is sacred; nothing justifies his being put to death or mutilated. When a Bramin was hung at Calcutta for forgery in the time of Mr. Hastings, all the other Bramins went to the other side of the river. They alone are allowed to read the Vedahs and Shastahs. The Vedahs are the original depositories of the Hindoo religion; the Shastahs, though also held sacred, are more modern, being commentaries on the Vedahs. While some parts of the Hindoo worship are simple and inoffensive, others are highly revolting by their cruelty and indecency. In the great Doorgah Feast, especially, which takes place in the spring and lasts for fifteen days, the most disgusting excesses are exhibited, particularly at the great stations of Hindoo congregation, of which Juggernaut, on the Coromandel coast, a little below the mouth of the Ganges, is one of the most distinguished. On this occasion a prodigious machine, constructed over several rows of low wheels and containing numerous images, is drawn about by the fanatic people, by means of long cables. I have very often seen a similar car or rut, as the natives call it, at Santipore in my morning rides. It stood by the roadside. I never saw it in motion, but I understood that when drawn about at the Doorgah festival, young children were sometimes thrown under the wheels by their mothers and crushed to death. At Sangor Island children were thrown to the alligators, and when I was at Allahabad I was told that it was usual on some particular day for old women to go to the middle of the united streams of the Ganges and Jumna, and to be thrown into the river with three large water-pots tied about their necks. Had I remained in charge

of that district when sent to it by Lord Wellesley, I contemplated the satisfaction of putting an end to this barbarity. There is also reason to fear that besides the thousands of animals—buffaloes, kids, and goats—offered to Kalu, the avenging goddess of the Hindoo pantheon, human sacrifices take place privately. To these enormities may be added the appalling list of women who perish annually upon the funeral piles of their husbands. It is the duty of the Government, particularly of a Christian Government, to make every effort to suppress these dreadful acts. We may see with forbearance a Bramin place the peytoo or sacred thread denoting his order round his neck, or abstain from animal food, or perform his daily ablutions in the waters of the Ganges, but we are not justified in beholding without interference this same Bramin instigating the destruction of human life. Accordingly, while leaving to the influence of time, instruction, and example, and to the operation of such prudential discouragement as the precarious nature of our position in the East will permit, the correction of the mere opinions and theories of the people, the Government of India no longer tolerates, or seems to sanction by its forbearance, deeds of cruelty which openly violate every sentiment of religion, and all principle of social order and common protection. Resistance to such acts has at length become both possible and prudent, and our supreme administration has accordingly raised its arm in defence of the weakest and most innocent of the population under its care against the selfish and merciless power of the Bramins. Lord Cornwallis began this great work by prohibiting the destruction of the female children of the Rajkomars, and wished to interdict the suttee.

In the records of my office in Shahabad was a reference from my predecessor, William Augustus Brooke, Esquire, to the Supreme Government to know whether he should interpose his authority to prevent these acts. Lord Cornwallis, then Governor-General, expressed his anxious desire to suppress these enormities, but felt that the interdiction of the Government would be ineffectual and imprudent at that moment. I endeavoured, and, I believe, successfully, to check these horrors, through the influence of my Dewan and Tchsuldars and other principal officers who were Bramins. Lord Wellesley stopped the sacrifices of children at Sangor, and to Lord Bentinck has been the glory of accomplishing the great triumph of humanity by the suppression of the murderous pile, as

far, at least, as that suppression can be effected by penal prohibition. Still it is evident that these measures, however laudable, do not reach the source of the evil which must be reached, or Hindoo superstition will rise *above* its former level, when the force that keeps it down shall be removed; and Kalu will require more victims after such a fast.

How long our Indian Empire may last it is impossible to say, but great will be our responsibility as a Christian nation if, *when* we retire from the East, we leave behind us the same idolatry and impiety that we found when we first landed in these regions. It is certainly remarkable that the temporal situation of the part of India subjected to our laws has been greatly improved by our administration, while the spiritual position of the country is much as it was on our arrival.

No. 5.—The Hindoo Widow.

Having hired a small covered boat, rowed by four men and steered by a fifth, I left Calcutta on a visit to my friend Mr. Fletcher at Santipore, sixty miles higher up the Ganges. In the evening, the tide running up, the boatmen pushed off into the middle of the stream and began rowing. As long as light continued I observed the many objects of interest which this part of the river presented—boats in great numbers and of various size and form, engaged in the internal commerce of the country, and others heavily laden with supplies for the markets of the great British metropolis.

Soon after dark I crept under the low flat roof of my little boat and went asleep on a mattress my servants had spread for me.

I got up soon after daybreak and went upon the forepart of the boat, between the roof and the rowers, to enjoy the coolness of the morning air. When I had been here about half an hour I observed on the shore to our left several persons coming from the interior to the river, and others standing together near it, a sight so usual at this time of the day that it did not strike me as at all singular. As, however, we came nearer, some singularity was observable, for the people did not enter the river to bathe. I therefore noticed them more attentively, when the discovery of a *pile* which I could perceive amongst the crowd at once suggested a painful solution of what was passing, and the opinion of my boatmen removed all

doubt. It was certainly a suttee, or burning of a Hindoo widow, that was about to take place. Though feeling a great repugnance for painful sights, I determined to avail myself of an opportunity which so seldom offers itself to a native of Europe of *seeing* one of the most remarkable customs of the East. I accordingly directed the boat to be steered towards the people, and soon landed amongst them, close to the body of the deceased Hindoo, which had apparently just been placed at the edge of the water, with which some Bramins, or persons of the family, were then washing it. The deceased appeared to have been about thirty-five years of age, and to have been rather a tall man. I did not learn what his illness had been, but he was reduced almost to a skeleton. He was lying on his back on a small bedstead, with his knees up, and was quite uncovered, excepting a cloth about his middle. I looked about for his widow, but could see no one distinguishable by anything particular from the rest of the females. Walking a few yards up the shore I saw the pile. It was about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, something less in width, and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length. The bottom part was composed of dried faggots, upon which was a thick layer of dried palm-leaves, rushes, and stalks of sugar-canes. While I was standing here the circle of people who surrounded the pile, looking at the preparations, opened towards the river, and the dead body was brought through on the bedstead, and after having been put down for a minute near the pile, was lifted up and placed upon it, the head towards the south, the face turned towards the Ganges.

During these proceedings I was standing about ten feet from the north-west angle of the pile, in the inner line of the circle formed by the people. Looking now to my right I perceived the unfortunate woman. She was sitting between two young children, a little within the circle and immediately opposite the middle of the western side of the pile. A white cloth fell from the top of her head over each cheek, but her face was partly visible where I stood.

As she sat, her elbows rested upon her knees, her hands supporting her head. Her eyes, half closed, were fixed upon the ground, but without taking notice of anything. Several women, whom I supposed to be her relations and friends, were sitting or standing behind her, but there was no communication of any kind between them and the widow, nor between the latter and her children; not a tear was shed nor a word spoken.

After a few minutes the woman rose, and some Bramins step-

ping forward, put into her hand a cloth containing something, and then ranged themselves partly behind her, partly by her side, some of the women doing the same. In this movement I lost sight of the children, and supposed that they had been secretly withdrawn by some one of the family or of the attendants. Followed by the Bramins and women, she now began to walk gently within the circle to the left, distributing as she went the contents of her cloth. She would necessarily pass close to me, and this circumstance seemed to favour the little chance there was of saving her life. I determined to attract her attention as she passed me, and to be guided by the result as to any further interference. When, therefore, she came to where I was standing, I stepped forward and held my hand towards her as expressive of a desire to share the farewell offering she was giving away. The unexpected appearance of an European, whom she now saw for the first time in all probability in her life, undoubtedly surprised her, although her feelings seemed too deadened by the circumstances of her situation to be susceptible of much impression. She had not raised her eyes from the ground to look at the persons she had passed, but my advancing, together with my dress, caused her to look at me while she put a small quantity of burnt rice into my hand. She appeared to be about twenty years of age, and had the regular delicate features so usual among the native women of India. Having received her rice as graciously as I could, I allowed her to pass on. I considered, however, what had occurred as so favourable that I resolved to speak to her when she came to me again, for I understood that she was to walk round three times.

Having proceeded slowly round the pile she came to the part where she had been seated with her children, and a few steps more brought her near to me a second time. I again advanced as she approached, and having again received a few grains of rice, which she seemed quite prepared to give me, I expressed my grief at her intention, and entreated her to relinquish it for the sake of her children, for whom as well as for herself I promised provision and protection. Although she said nothing, I thought her look seemed to express thankfulness for the proposition she had heard. I had not time to say more, the pressure of the Bramins, watchful lest their victim should escape, obliging her to move on.

Having once more completed her round and come to where I stood, she herself turned to put some rice into my hand. I eagerly

seized the last opportunity I should have of renewing my exhortation, promising her a pension for life and provision for her children. Though her head remained inclined towards the ground, she looked at me while I spoke, and her countenance impressed me with the assurance that if she had been free from the fatal influence which surrounded her it would not have been difficult to turn her from her resolution. Pressed on as before, she turned her eyes from me and moved forwards.

The last scene of this shocking tragedy was now approaching. The procession did not quite complete the third round, for having reached the head of the pile the widow advanced to the side of it next the river, when two men, laying hold of her, raised her in their arms and laid her upon it, with her face towards the face of her dead husband. It was, however, found that the bent knees of the latter prevented her being placed sufficiently near the corpse to be tied to it. As soon as the bystanders perceived this difficulty there was a considerable rumour amongst them. Some called out that the woman had better be placed behind the man, others observing that she was now in her proper place. After some discussion the former arrangement was decided on, and the miserable woman was again lifted up and carried round to the opposite side, where she was placed close to the back of the deceased, her face towards him. A rope which had been put under the dead body being passed also under and then over her's, the two—the living and the dead — were tied firmly together. Dry combustible materials, similar to those on which the bodies rested, were now heaped over them, and I entirely lost sight of the woman.

When the pile had been thus raised about eighteen inches more, two long bamboos were fastened to pegs in the ground on one side, and being passed over it were depressed till their ends reached the other pegs, to which also they were secured. The pressure upon the pile by these means was very considerable, and would effectually prevent the woman from rising. Indeed, it seemed to me doubtful whether the quantity of stuff piled upon her and closely pressed down would not smother her, and happily rescue her from a more painful death. There was, however, scarcely time allowed for this, for as soon as the bamboos were fastened down, fire was brought from a small burning heap that was ready for the purpose, and applied, amidst the shouts of the people, first to the head of the pile, then at the bottom, and afterwards to different parts of it. The ignition

was immediate, and to increase its action and direct the flames through the middle, ghee, a sort of liquid butter, was poured upon the top. There was no shouting after the first exclamation on lighting, but the noise was still considerable, seeming, however, to be accidentally occasioned by the talking and observations of the people rather than studiously produced to conceal the shrieks of the woman. Indeed, the way in which she was covered up and pressed down would render her cries very feeble; nor, if they did reach the ears of the bystanders, would they be likely to excite either horror or pity, for I saw not a single countenance that testified either of these feelings. The flames were so excited as the ghee flowed down upon them that they quickly pierced through the crackling faggots, and must, as far as I could judge, have reached the poor woman in less than two minutes after the pile was lighted; and though their rapidly-increasing progress would soon put an end to her sufferings, these for some seconds must have been dreadful. At length they made their way through the top of the pile, and the whole was one general blaze. There could be little doubt that the agonies of the wretched widow were now over; but this desirable fact was rendered unquestionable by a circumstance which occurred shortly after. It was an explosion in the pile, like the discharge of a pistol. Had this happened sooner I should have concluded that gunpowder had been put amongst the materials to accelerate their combustion. The noise was followed by clamorous expressions of satisfaction amongst the spectators. Upon my asking a Hindoo near me what all this meant, he said that the skull of one of the dead had burst, and that the people had shouted because this occurrence was a favourable omen. In a few moments more there was a similar explosion, followed by a similar burst of satisfaction round the whole circle.

The pile was soon after reduced to a burning heap of fragments and ashes about two feet high, and not knowing what new horrors its further reduction might disclose, I made my way through the people behind me and went on board my boat, not certainly to partake of the breakfast my servants were about to prepare for me, nor to dismiss from my thoughts the spectacle I had seen.

No. 6.—The Seasons in Bengal.

These are, according to the distribution of Europeans, firstly, *the cold season*, commencing about the beginning of December in the southern parts of Bengal, in the northern fifteen or twenty days sooner, and lasting till nearly the end of February. Secondly, *the hot season*, which follows the preceding one, and continues with increasing heat, relieved only by the north-westers till the middle of June, when the third division, or *rainy season*, begins, after having been preceded for a few days by a gradual accumulation of clouds, a breathless calm, and a close suffocating heat; till at length an abundant fall of rain denotes the welcome change, and diffuses fragrance, plenty and joy throughout the country.

The rain thus falls often for several days together, when it perhaps ceases for three or four days, but generally returns after that interval. This is the chief season of cultivation in the districts of Bengal, where the greater part of the crops consists of rice, the principal food of the Hindoos. The husbandry of the country being thus dependent upon periodical rains, a protracted delay or great deficiency of these is attended with the most serious consequences.

There are probably few events more dreadful than a famine in India. When a famine does take place the starving inhabitants of the villages flock round the cities and large towns. Here, however, a principle of self-preservation, and the fear of plunder and disorder, prevent their admission. Thus compelled to remain outside the walls in the burning sun without food, the most horrible scenes of frantic desperation ensue, and the entire mass gradually perishes. Many thousands died in this way round the city of Moorshedabad, not long before my residence in that part of India, and the numbers who died in the entire province of Bengal on the same occasion exceeded 2,000,000.

The districts of the Bengal Presidency were not visited by famine during my residence in India, but I once witnessed something fearfully like the approaches of this dreadful occurrence; for the country of which I had charge,[1] between 400 and 500 miles up the

[1] The Province of Behar.

Ganges, experienced an alarming drought, the usual forerunner and cause, as I have said, of famine in India.

Particulars taken from my official correspondence and notes on the subject will be given in a future narrative (see p. 513).

It is the rainy season which puts the traveller and inland trader in motion as well as the husbandman; for the numerous, or rather innumerable, streams and natural canals which intersect the country afford a most extensive and convenient communication through the interior in every direction—from the Jumna to the Burrampooter, from the Bay of Bengal to the mountains of Thibet. The immense plain comprised within these distended limits—for extent, population, and fertility, the finest perhaps on the face of the globe—now presents a most animated spectacle. The productions of Europe, of China, and of the numerous islands in the Straits of Malacca, pass at this time into the northern parts of Hindostan, meeting on their way the productions of India, destined for every part of the world. It is supposed that more than 5000 boats of various descriptions, of 10 to 100 tons each, are employed in this navigation, and at least 50,000 boatmen. Many of the rivers which thus fructify the agriculture and commerce of these countries are more considerable than the Thames; while two, the Ganges and Burrampooter, far exceed the largest rivers in Europe. Such is the magnificent scale on which nature appears in India. Not less striking is the care of Providence here observable; for though these rivers all flow with rapidity towards the south, one great branch of the internal navigation above mentioned—that which is directed towards the interior—pursues its course in an opposite direction, being impelled by the strong *southerly* wind which prevails at this season, and which inclines a little to the west in the higher parts of Bengal, thus following, or rather *opposing*, the course of the Ganges. By this providential order, boats are enabled to *descend* and *ascend* the streams of India at the same time, and at the *very* time when they are best navigable. The current is strong enough to carry the boats *down* the river *against* the wind without sails, and with sails the wind is strong enough to carry them *up* against the current. This great aquatic movement generally commences about the middle of June, or as soon as the smaller branches leading into the Ganges are navigable, and terminates when they cease to be so, which, for large boats, is about December. The waters begin to rise in the month of May,

are at their highest in July and August, and their lowest in February, March and April. The rivers being open in June, although the rains do not begin till that period, it is manifest that the first increase of water is not ascribable to this cause. It undoubtedly proceeds from the partial melting of the immense expanse of snow which covers the Himalaya mountains, from whose sides all the rivers in question flow; and partly, it is probable, from the earlier commencement of the rainy season in those parts, occasioned by the condensation of the great mass of vapours driven against that lofty barrier of the plains of Hindostan by the southerly winds during the hot season.

It now only remains to notice, fourthly, the short interval between the cessation of the rains and the commencement of the cold weather, commonly called *the season after the rains.* This commences generally about the middle of September and continues till the end of November, when the evenings, nights, and mornings again begin to be pleasantly cool. There being but little wind at this season, the weather, though not so intensely hot as in the hot months, is more oppressive; while the sun, shining upon a country deeply impregnated with water, causes insalubrious exhalations, and brings into life an irresistible multitude of tormenting insects. Some of these annoy by their most offensive smell, and although the lights are put upon stands at some distance from the table, it often happens, notwithstanding the care of a servant behind the chair with a wisp in his hand, that one is obliged to send away a plate of soup, or cup of coffee into which a straggler from the fetid swarm has fallen.

This season accordingly is considered the most unhealthy and the most unpleasant of the whole year, and produces an impatient desire for the approaching return of the cold months.

[An apology is scarcely necessary for passing from the foregoing subject to that of the noxious animals which in a climate like that of India form no inconsiderable element in the concerns of life.]

No. 7.—Snakes.

A few personal incidents during my residence in India still recur to my recollection from time to time, some inspiring a particular interest alone, others both interest and gratitude, as involving a providential escape from some danger. Of the latter

description was an occurrence which took place one evening as I was sitting after dinner in Captain Thornhill's country-house on the Ganges a few miles above Calcutta.

I had had the table placed before the open door of the great hall, both for the sake of the prospect and of the cool wind which blew across the bay. The sun had set behind the woods beyond the Ganges, and I was about to rise to walk for half an hour by the side of the river when, looking up, I saw a large couvre-capelle twisted round one of the small pillars (about two feet high) which bounded the platform or landing-place before the door of the hall, his head advancing towards me. He seemed to be looking about to see whether he might safely enter the room. He remained some seconds in this apparent indecision, his tail twisted round the little column, and his head and the greater part of his body moving from one side to the other before the entrance. Although this was not very agreeable, I felt a desire to watch the snake, and see what he would finally do. He evidently had a very great inclination to detach himself from the pillar and glide into the room, there, probably, to conceal himself till night; but though some fear seemed to deter him then, I had no doubt but he would pursue his purpose as soon as it was darker. At length I rose and called to my servants, but the snake looked at me rather with surprise than alarm till I thumped and shook the table, when he withdrew his head, threaded the little pillars to the ground, and regained the dark hollow under the steps from which he had come. I followed him with my servants to the entrance of this recess, but no one dared to venture into it for it was doubtless a receptacle for snakes. In the night the poor frogs, of which there were many in the grass and ditches about the house, were heard screaming in the jaws of the snakes that had seized them, so distinctly that it was impossible not to follow the long agony of the poor animals, from the moment they were taken till they were finally swallowed. Their shrieks during this considerable interval were like those of a young child in distress. The couvre-capelle above described was apparently five or six feet long, and about as thick as a man's wrist. This snake is the most dangerous and destructive one in India, being the most common and the most domestic—that is, seeking houses where it secretes itself in the holes and chasms of the mud walls, in the thatched roofs, or under the hollow terraces. Its bite is fatal in a few hours.

At a later period, when in charge of a district containing a great population upon which it was my duty and, I may say, my earnest desire to confer the little good in my power, I had many most distressing opportunities of observing the dangerous qualities of those snakes, but I had also the satisfaction of saving the lives of many persons bitten by them. These unhappy sufferers were principally the inhabitants of thatched cottages, or peasants working in their gardens and fields in the rainy season, when snakes of all kinds are driven from their holes. These persons were brought to the door of my residence upon charpoys, or small Indian bedsteads, carried upon the shoulders of four or sometimes of only two men, or, in near and recent cases, were led resting upon the arms of two of their friends. They were in different stages of the dreadful affection, according to the time which had elapsed since the accident had happened. All seemed to suffer extreme physical depression; many were speechless, some lock-jawed, in some the spark of life was scarcely perceptible, in some it was quite extinct, the unfortunate man having expired on the way unperceived by the persons who were carrying him, and found to be a corpse when put down at my door. But in almost all cases where life remained, it was eventually preserved by the following simple preparation communicated to me by a medical friend who had experienced its success :—

Nassanda (sal ammoniac) one sur, fine chunam two surs, water six surs, distilled in the way practised by the natives in making their rose water.

To effect a cure give a full-grown person from sixty to eighty drops in about double the quantity of water; if this does not produce sickness at the stomach in ten or fifteen minutes, give about two-thirds of the same dose every two or three minutes until sickness is produced. When the person has once retched, whether by the first or second dose, give again about one-half or two-thirds of the first quantity, and repeat it in the same manner until it makes him sick a second time, when the cure will be complete.

The great object was to produce vomiting, when this was effected the recovery of the patient was almost invariably the consequence; but where the sufferer was too far gone for the liquid to be administered or to act, death was the certain result. I always had a supply of the medicine ready at my house, and also at the public Cutcherry or Treasury, where my offices were, and where

Mr. Cock resided, to whose willing co-operation on these painful occasions I, and more especially the natives, were much indebted. Our efforts scarcely ever failed where the arrival of the person had not by necessity or negligence been delayed too long. Some of these arrivals I well recollect, they having been fixed in my memory by some distressing particularity. One day a respectable man about thirty, one of the ryots or cultivators of my district, arrived on a dooley, a kind of palanquin of a very simple construction, being formed entirely of the bamboo. He was carried by two men, and accompanied by two or three of his family. They came from a village about eight miles off. My servants informing me that a man bitten by a snake had been brought, I went to the balcony in front of the house, and saw the group of villagers and the dooley upon the circular plat of grass before the door where my elephant was accustomed to remain till I mounted her. They looked like a party carrying a dead body to the banks of the Ganges, for the man in the dooley had the appearance of a corpse, and was in the usual position of one, lying upon his back, his head resting upon a low pillow, his hands straight by his side, and his naked knees bent up. I desired him to be brought into the shade of the verandah at the bottom of the great stairs, and went down to him with a bottle of the mixture. At the same time I sent to the Treasury requesting Mr. Cock to come. I do not recollect for certain what species of snake it was that had bitten the man, but I believe it was a couvre-capelle. I always desired that the snake when killed might also be brought, but this was seldom done. I found the man alive, but speechless and insensible. Such a state in an European would perhaps have appeared desperate; but I had had numerous opportunities of observing that the insensibility of a native of India in such cases was often as much the result of his natural resignation and extraordinary indifference to death as of physical exhaustion. It was evident, however, that more quick and decisive measures than usual were necessary to save him. I therefore ordered my servants to force his mouth open, and to pour down his throat the usual quantity of the mixture, but almost pure. I hoped that its scalding in this state might revive him, and render him more sensible to its intended action. The first effect was at once visible. He felt the burning pungency of the strong liquid. Thus partially revived, we gave him, after a few minutes, a further quantity more diluted, and now anxiously awaited the

important symptom decisive of his fate. His stomach became affected, and I had the satisfaction of announcing to his friends that he was saved. The next day he was able to return home, complaining merely of weakness, and of the excoriation of his throat, as all my patients did, but which a decoction of linseed or other emollients removed in a few days.

I had such proof of the efficacy of the above treatment during the last year that I remained in India that I intended establishing dépôts of the mixture or of the materials composing it, with instruction for its preparation and use, in the principal towns and villages of my district; but the necessity of returning to Europe on account of my health prevented the execution of this design, as well as some other plans likely to be beneficial to the population under my charge. Had this further trial succeeded, I intended to propose it to the Government for general adoption. I still, however, contemplated the probability of my having an opportunity of introducing such subjects to the Court of Directors. But although my connection with the natives of India ceased for ever on my leaving their country, I have often thought of the scenes of most affecting distress, and of joy scarcely less affecting, which I have witnessed from the dreadful accidents in question, and have deeply regretted that nothing (if such be the fact) should have been done to put into the hands of the population of our Indian provinces the easy and effectual means, which so happily exist, of counteracting so great an evil. As I had a constant communication with every village in my district, and had indeed a public officer in each, it would have been easy, as preliminary to the plan I proposed to adopt, to ascertain with some degree of accuracy the possible extent of mortality from the bites of snakes in the course of a year. It was the opinion of my head native officer and of some of the chiefs of divisions of the country, that one death might be assigned to each village; and there seemed no other objection to this calculation than the appalling number it produced, there being in the united districts under my charge above 10,000 villages exclusive of several large populous towns. But the number of accidents or deaths (for without assistance these terms were nearly synonymous) was certainly great, if calculated only on the cases actually brought to the chief station from a distance not exceeding eight or ten miles. There were many snakes of the worst description among the dilapidated palaces and abandoned gardens of the large and ancient city of Sasseram, in the southern

part of my district, and I either established a dépôt of the snake medicine with my principal officer there, or gave some bottles of it to my friend the Khan, the chief of Sasseram, a man of high rank and great wealth, though much fallen, probably, from the high estate his ancestors enjoyed when this city was the residence of the emperors. When visiting the magnificent mausoleum of one of these emperors a short distance from Sasseram, I was cautioned to walk over it with care on account of the numerous snakes which had, as it were, taken possession of it, and whose holes I saw about the ruined passages and staircases. My protégé, Mr. Philip Carter, who lived in another distant quarter (towards the west), having informed me that he lost some of his men by snakes while cutting his indigo plant in the fields or treading it down in the vats, I sent him a supply of the mixture, both for his own people and his neighbourhood, and understood that he used it successfully.

No. 8.—Alligators.

Being with Mr. Fletcher on a visit to Mr. Cox, the commercial Resident at Gollagore, I had a desire to see two alligators, said to be tame, in a tank about three miles off.

Mr. Cox and Mr. Fletcher accompanied me to make this visit. Having ridden the three miles, we arrived soon after sunrise at a middling-sized tank, in which I perceived nothing remarkable, and could hardly believe it contained an alligator. Not far from one end of it, amidst some cocoa-nut trees, were a few native huts, to which we proceeded; and a little old man coming out of one of them, the Resident of Gollagore informed him of the object of our coming. A salaam of the Hindoo having expressed his assent, he re-entered his cottage, and in a few seconds came out again with two or three chickens swinging in his hand. He walked towards the tank, and we, leaving our horses with the syces, followed him. Arrived at the edge, he asked me if I did not see the alligators; but though I looked about attentively, not without some feeling of horror at the idea of being near these animals without seeing them, I was quite unable to discover anything. The old man asked me if I did not see four objects above the surface of the water at the opposite side of the tank, and I did indeed perceive there something like four small pieces of wood or cork, about as big as a walnut,

lying in a line. The Hindoo now held up the fowls, and I immediately perceived the objects I had noticed moving towards us; and when they arrived at the middle of the tank, I saw distinctly that they were the eyes of two alligators, and that something visible a few feet behind, were the rugged projections of their backs, a little above the water. The appearance of the eyes of these monsters, and of the curved ridge, as they glided along, without any apparent movement to put them in motion, was inexpressibly hideous. They stopped within a few yards of the bank, and there remained, their eyes fixed upon us. They were so perfectly motionless, and so much the colour of the water, that anyone might have stood upon the shore, and even gone into the tank without noticing them. After a few minutes the old man threw one of the chickens into the water, about six feet before them, when they both rushed forward to seize it; and in this contention a considerable part of their bodies was visible. They reached the chicken almost at the same time, but one having rather the advantage on the other, seized it, and disappeared under the water; but rising again immediately, raised its head entirely above the surface, and opening its wide jaws, I perceived the poor bird, which the alligator now swallowed, the blood gushing from one side of its mouth as it crushed it. It was a truly horrible exhibition, which, however, I could hardly prevent the old man from repeating. In reply to my questions, he said that these two animals had inhabited the tank a great many years, and had never quitted it since their first arrival. They had undoubtedly come across the country from the Ganges, in the night. Their departure would now be considered a great calamity, for they were held in much veneration by the Hindoos of the neighbourhood, who had appointed our guide to feed them daily. As alligators live to a great age, and the Hindoos are very persevering in their acts of religious superstition, I have no doubt but these ancient possessors of the tank of Gollagore retain their usurpation to this day, though no longer fed by the same hand. They appeared to me to be about twelve feet long, were nearly black, very rugged, and in every respect most unsightly; and although accounted tame by the inhabitants of the country, yet from their sullen look, and the savage voracity with which they darted forward to seize the poor chicken, I had no doubt but they would have taken the old Hindoo himself for their breakfast, if accident had put him within their reach.

No. 9.—Buffaloes.

After passing through a wood which bordered the river, we came out upon an extensive plain. The day began to dawn soon after, and the torch-bearers extinguished their torches. In a few minutes the alarm of buffaloes was given, and the bearers began running as fast as they could. I raised myself in my palanquin, and looking out, saw a numerous herd of buffaloes grazing on our right, not far from us. I had heard many stories of the wild buffalo since I had been in India, but had seen only the tame one. Those which I now beheld were very different, both in form and size, and still more unlike the small harmless animal with a hump on its back, seen in parks and grounds in England. The real buffalo, wild or tame, has no hump, is of a peculiar colour, something between black and bronze, and has invariably, even when most domesticated, a savage, mischievous aspect. In its wild state it is as tall as an ox, but much rounder and thicker, and vastly more strong and active. The horns of the tame buffalo are short, but those of the wild one are of great length, extending half-way over his back, and almost resting upon it when his head is up. It is to this position that a person attacked by the wild buffalo sometimes owes his escape; for the buffalo, in order to bring the points of his horns sufficiently low, is obliged to bring his head nearly flat to the ground, when within a few feet of his object, and at this moment a man may, it is said, spring on one side and avoid the charge. Such were the animals in whose presence we unexpectedly found ourselves. One of the number was a short distance before the others; but they were all feeding, and seemed not to perceive us, although their heads were turned towards us. I had heard that when palanquin-bearers were pursued by buffaloes they put down the palanquin and endeavoured to save themselves by flight. It was this desertion that I now apprehended; and considering what I should do in such a case, I determined to shut myself up in my box, and remain still, for I thought the buffaloes would be most likely to pursue the runners, and that if I ran too, I should certainly be the last. But I encouraged my people to keep together, and to advance as quickly and silently as possible; and in this manner we at length reached the edge of the plain.

The more I heard of the wild buffalo, the more I had reason to think our escape fortunate. Few animals of the Indian forests are considered so formidable. Even the tiger feels his inferiority, and avoids him. It was common for the native princes to have battles between the tiger and the buffalo. The two animals were turned into an enclosed arena, in the middle of which a thick bamboo was erected. The tiger declined the combat, and when charged by the buffalo, made for the bamboo, and climbed it. The buffalo, however, waited at the bottom till fatigue compelled him to descend, when he took him upon his horns, and threw him into the air, renewing his attack when the tiger reached the ground. In the end the buffalo, I understood, was always victorious.

No. 10.—The Bengal Tiger.

One day, while the Resident and I were at dinner, a man arrived in great haste to let us know that a tiger had been caught about three miles off. As soon as the sun was sufficiently down we mounted our horses, and followed the messenger to the place. As we approached it we saw a crowd of people assembled a short distance from a village. Riding up to them, we found they were standing round a circular net about ten feet high, which was supported by bamboos stuck into the ground, also about ten feet from each other. Within this circle nothing was visible excepting a few bushes in the centre. It was under these bushes, we were told, that the tiger was. As I wished to see him, I dismounted and walked to within a yard of the net. I stooped and looked, but was not sure that I saw anything, till a man who was standing by me put a long bamboo through the large meshes, and thrust the end of it against the tiger, and now I saw him move. My eye having once caught him, he remained distinctly visible, and I stood looking at him for some minutes, when the man again put the bamboo through the net and forced it against the tiger who growled at every thrust. The man continued to push as hard as he could, and I to observe the effect of this annoyance, when suddenly, and most unexpectedly, the tiger rushed from the bushes, roared tremendously, and made a prodigious spring against the net immediately at the spot at which the man was pushing and I was standing. The man probably was the object of his attack. The people screamed and

ran, and I hastily withdrew some paces, when, stopping and turning round, I saw the tiger hanging upon the net spread out against it, and striving to reach the top, but unable to advance. I approached to a discreet distance, and there stopped to gaze upon this extraordinary spectacle. The forefeet of the tiger, by which he principally sustained himself, were about three feet from the top, and passed through the meshes. The net being hung loosely, and in the most careless manner from the tops of the poles, shook so much under the weight and efforts of the immense monster that it looked as if the whole of it would come down and let him out, but this motion, alarming as it seemed, was indeed our best protection, for it embarrassed the tiger, and prevented his mounting higher. In fact, after hanging and swinging backwards and forwards till he was apparently too tired to keep his hold any longer, he fell off and came heavily to the ground, not upon his feet, as I expected, but upon his back. He turned and got up slowly without sign of fear or precipitation, and retreated sullenly to the bushes where nobody, I believe, was disposed to disturb him again. For grand as had been the scene just exhibited, it was not without danger, since it seemed very possible that the oscillations of the slightly-constructed wall might cause this to fall either inwards or outwards, and I felt persuaded that it would have fallen down outwards at the tiger's first spring if, instead of lighting half-way between the poles, he had struck one of them, or had lighted near one. Had such an accident happened the consequences must have been dreadful, for hundreds of defenceless persons—men, women, and children—were assembled round the net.

The tiger, which was the large Bengal tiger, was supposed to have come from a wood, distant only three or four miles, at which I had had an alarm the preceding year. My notes do not mention the mischief he had done, but I think he had killed two cows and a bullock in the adjoining village. It was fortunate that his destruction had not been more extensive, for, posted as he was, every living being in the village seemed within his power. As soon as the Rajah of the district, who resided at Kishenaghur, heard of these depredations, he sent his people and nets to the spot. The latter were set up round the bushes, but at a considerable distance from them, and were gradually reduced to the contracted circle they formed when I saw them. Within the enclosure, shoved near the bushes, I saw a large trap made of strong wood, resembling in

shape and contrivance a common wooden mouse-trap. It was open, and it was expected that the tiger would go into it in the night to take the flesh with which it was baited. We had the satisfaction of hearing the next morning that he had done so, and that he was then on his way to Kishenaghur in the trap, which had been placed upon a carriage drawn by bullocks. The nets being erected as before on the open ground before the principal residence at Kishenaghur, in the presence of the Rajah and a gentleman of the station, the trap, placed just within the area, was opened, and the tiger went out. Presently after, I was told, some poor pigs were put under the net, and seeing the tiger, ran about in the greatest alarm, sometimes in their terror going almost against him without, however, his attempting to molest them, but when a sepoy made of straw and covered with a red jacket was put in, he sprang upon it with the greatest fierceness, and tore it to pieces. He was now shot at by the Rajah and others. The first shot broke one of his forelegs, when he roared and plunged about frightfully. Many more shots were discharged without killing him, but at length a large ball from a rifle-gun, striking him on the front of the head, terminated his existence. The Rajah allowed the head to be sent to me, and I sent it to England, where I afterwards saw it, with the deep impression of the rifle-shot on the forehead, amongst my Indian curiosities in my father's house at Isleworth.

No. 11.—Hunting Dangers.

Santipore. Bengal.

In one of the hot days of this time of the year, as Mr. Fletcher and I were sitting together, the servants said that a palanquin of the kind used by Europeans was seen coming across the plain to the eastward towards the bungalow. The report surprised us, for an European travelling in the sun in the hottest season was a very unusual circumstance. We were soon told that the palanquin was arrived, and set down, but that an English gentleman who was in it was unable to get out. The Resident, under a chattah, or large parasol, immediately went to the bottom of the steps, when the stranger said that his thigh was broken. He was then carefully moved from his palanquin, and placed upon the sofa in the dining-room, seeming all the time to be in great pain, and looking very ill. From the account he now gave us we found that he was Captain

O'Donald, of the Company's service, that he had the day before been wild-boar hunting on the Cossimbazar island with some other officers, and that whilst charging a boar at full gallop his horse fell, and he came to the ground with such force as to break his thigh. He had proceeded first to Kishenaghur, hoping to find the surgeon of the district there, but being disappointed he had come with the same expectation to Santipore. His disappointment was great at hearing that the surgeon was not with us, and that there was no medical assistance nearer than Chinsurah, distant forty miles. The Resident ordered a small roofed boat to be got ready for him, and as soon as the sun was nearly down he was carried to it, and descended the Ganges in the night. The delay in obtaining medical relief, with so much motion and exposure to a burning sun, were very unfavourable circumstances, and made us very anxious for the consequences. Whilst lying upon the couch Captain O'Donald informed us, to our surprise, that he was one of the companions of Captain Munro on Sangor Island not long before, and he gave us the following account of that catastrophe, to which his personal connection with the event and extraordinary position at that moment imparted singular interest.

Captain Munro of the Madras establishment having been spending a few weeks in Calcutta, where he was much esteemed, was returning to his station when the ship in which he had embarked anchored off Sangor Island at the mouth of the Ganges. Though this island is known to abound with tigers, Captain Munro and three other passengers, of whom Captain O'Donald was one, had the imprudence to go on shore to shoot. After pursuing their amusement some hours without accident they were inclined to rest themselves and take some refreshment. For this purpose they chose a small open spot, and had the further precaution to make a large fire in the middle of it, this being considered in India one of the best expedients for keeping off tigers. With such precarious protection did these inconsiderate men sit down to partake of the cold provisions they had brought with them. They had not been seated long before a large tiger, making a bound, seized Captain Munro by the back of the neck, and dragged him into the jungle. Captain O'Donald said that he and the two other officers immediately took up their guns, and ran to the edge of the wood, but could see nothing. Their distress did not prevent their adopting the step which was perhaps the most judicious. They all fired in

the direction in which the tiger had gone off, even at the risk of shooting their friend. They hardly expected to recover him by this proceeding, and were as much astonished as overjoyed at seeing him in a minute or two crawling towards them under the bushes. He was covered with blood, the back of his neck and shoulders being torn dreadfully. His companions carried him as quickly as they could to the spot where they had disembarked, and making a signal to the ship, a boat came and took them off. Scarcely had they quitted the shore before a tiger appeared on it. They supposed it to be the one which had carried off Captain Munro, and which had possibly recovered from the effect of a slight wound or the alarm caused by the firing. Although Captain Munro received such early medical assistance he died the next day. This history recurred to my mind some years after, when a ship in which I was leaving the Ganges anchored during the night within a cable's length of Sangor Island.

No. 12.—Visit to Lord Wellesley in Camp.

[This visit evidently occurred towards the latter part of my father's second stay in India, of which two salient events are alluded to, namely, the reform of the customs revenue at Calcutta, and the governorship of the province of Behar.]

In consequence of an express from the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, when I was near Benares, desiring me to join His Excellency without delay, I lost no time in setting out to join his lordship, then in Oude on a visit to the provinces lately acquired from the Nabob of Oude.

In the morning of the 28th December I reached the quarters of Colonel Kyd, commandant of the fort of Allahabad, and met there Major Malcolm, Lord Wellesley's chief secretary, who had, he informed me, left the Governor-General the day before. The Major said that his lordship had selected me to "be Controller-General of the Customs in the ceded provinces," and congratulated me on the occasion. He said it was a great appointment, and would afford me a favourable opportunity of distinguishing myself. He offered me the use of his tent during my stay with his lordship, and wrote a note to Major Shawe, of the Governor-General's family, requesting him to put it at my disposal. As the Governor-General was encamped about twenty miles to the north of Allahabad, and

intended moving forward the next morning, I determined to endeavour to overtake him that day by proceeding as soon as bearers could be placed at an intermediate stage. Colonel Kyd offered to send me forward on an elephant, but there seemed to be no necessity for giving him this trouble. I left Allahabad about twelve o'clock, and, changing bearers half-way, reached the extensive camp of the Governor-General soon after sunset.

His lordship being informed of my arrival, sent me a very polite message and an invitation to dinner. I remained with Major Shawe, whom I had long known in Calcutta, till Major Malcolm's tent was pitched for me. Major Malcolm had told me at Allahabad that my quarters would be next the Governor-General's, and on taking possession of his tent, I found myself in fact close to his lordship. At the dinner-hour I went to the dining-tent, and found assembled there a large party of military officers, who formed His Excellency's suite or were attached to the battalions which composed his escort. The dinner being brought from the cooking-tents by a long train of servants, each bearing a dish in his hand, the Governor-General arrived, and after expressing his satisfaction at seeing me, he took his seat in the middle of the table, which was of great length—extending nearly from one entrance of the spacious tent to the other. Behind his lordship's chair were two dismounted troopers of his native bodyguard. They had their drawn swords in their hands and pistols in their girdles, and appeared attentive and ready, conformably, doubtless, to the instructions they had received. Their station was a few feet from his lordship's chair, and seemed well chosen for their acting in case of need, while it allowed the servants to pass between them and the table. Other sepoys were on duty at the doors of the tent, as well as outside the *kinaut*, or exterior wall, which surrounded it. These precautions, in a country so recently acquired, and acquired as this had been, did not appear to me to be superfluous. There might be inhabitants of these provinces, who, influenced by attachment to the Vizier, or by their own interest, might regard the Governor-General, the ostensible author of the late change, with no friendly feelings.

The Marquis was dressed in the splendid uniform of Captain-General, and all the rest of the party, being officers, were in uniform and wore their swords. Notwithstanding his lordship's known fondness for parade and splendour, the brilliancy and pro-

fusion of the dinner-table surprised me. Costly chandeliers of cut glass were suspended over it, and it was covered with beautiful porcelain and glass-ware, and with dishes and wines as varied and abundant as at his lordship's famed entertainments at the Government palace at Calcutta. It was difficult to imagine how all these things could be packed and transported every day, from one halting-place to another. But in India, where servants are numerous and expense is not considered, such arrangements are made with greater facility than in most countries. At dinner his lordship alluded to his having met me on the Ganges a few months before, and was, as usual, extremely agreeable and civil. After coffee had been served, he rose, and the company did the same. Taking me on one side, he said he should speak to me on business the following day; he added that I was his guest while I remained in camp, and calling for "Lanelli," his maître d'hôtel, who had accompanied him from England, he charged him to see that I wanted nothing. His lordship then left the tent, followed by all the company, and surrounded by a great number of attendants. Immediately in front of His Excellency walked a man very handsomely dressed, who, with a loud voice and emphatic gesticulation, proclaimed his titles, of which he had provided himself with a long string, consisting of double and triple-worded epithets, in the full license of Asiatic exaggeration. Thus escorted, his lordship reached the opening in the wall which surrounded his sleeping-tent, and entered it followed by his domestic servants alone, his company separating outside and retiring to their respective quarters.

Without experience it is difficult to conceive the noise and bustle, and apparent disorder and confusion, though order and regularity really prevail, which attend the moving of an Indian camp at daybreak — the lowing of the bullocks, the calls and blows of their drivers, the creaking of the hackeries, the strokes of the heavy mallets to unloose the tent-pins, the roaring of the elephants, impatient to rise from their painful position while being loaded, and only kept down by the pointed spikes of the Mehauts; the relieving of the guards, and the sound of the trumpet and bugle. These notes of preparation begin long before daylight, and do not cease till the camp has left the ground. Major Malcolm's servants coming to me at an early hour, I got into my palanquin soon after the morning gun had fired, and

moved on. The road was encumbered with the troops, cavalry, artillery, and infantry, and particularly with the camp equipage and stores, and the usual crowd of followers.

Soon after sunrise the Marquis passed me a little to the left of the road. He was mounted on a gray Arabian, and rode over the uncultivated plain, attended by his numerous staff, and a detachment of the bodyguard. It was the first time I had seen his lordship on horseback. The sight made me think of *another* little great man on *his* gray Arabian, and surrounded by *his* guards. Indeed, in power, and perhaps in ambition, his lordship was certainly the Napoleon of the East. He rode in the Indian way—that is, cantering a quarter of a mile, and then walking his horse the same distance. The road entered a defile so narrow that I could hardly pass the loaded elephants and camels that were before me. The country afterwards opened again into an extensive plain. About ten o'clock I saw another small camp before me towards the north, and upon reaching it, I saw the officers of the Governor-General's staff standing about one of the largest tents. His lordship having desired me to consider myself his guest, I joined this party, who, no doubt, were waiting for breakfast, and upon entering the tent, I saw His Excellency's breakfast-table laid out with the same sumptuous profusion as the dinner-table had been the evening before. There were tea, coffee, newly-baked bread, fish, rice, ham, fruits, and preserves of different kinds. There was also the usual number of guards and servants, and these not in dusty clothes, as after a morning's march, but fresh and clean. These arrangements were effected by means of double sets of tents, servants, and everything, of which one set was sent forward the day before—a plan which I afterwards adopted myself in moving about my own district. The Governor-General arriving from his private tent, at which he had dismounted, the breakfast began. When this was over His Excellency received some military reports which were presented to him, after which he walked under a chattah or great umbrella to his private tent, attended by the company and preceded as before by the man vociferating his renown. Arrived at the entrance of his tent, the Marquis turned round and bowed to the company, who bowed and retired, but upon his making me a sign to accompany him I stepped forwards and entered the enclosure with him, and walking across this, came to the most magnificent tent I had ever

seen. The floor was made by a platform raised about half a foot from the ground, and was covered with fine Indian matting. Instead of sitting down and talking upon the particular business which had brought me to his camp, his lordship began to walk up and down the full length of the tent with me, conversing upon subjects of a general nature and upon others of a confidential kind, upon which, as he had done on former occasions, he expressed himself without the least reserve. He spoke in very strong terms of some measures of the Indian Department in England, and particularly alluded to Mr. ———, who, he said, signed despatches to him in direct opposition to his known sentiments. The names thus mentioned, and the observations made to me, have ever remained as private as if I had received them under a pledge of secrecy. His lordship was generally considered haughty in his personal intercourse. I owe it to his lordship to say that on such occasions I always, on the contrary, found him not only accessible but most affable, gentlemanly, and agreeable. After expressing his opinions with much feeling and eloquence for some time, as we walked from one end of the tent to the other,—his lordship stopping for a minute or two and turning towards me while he held forth, and then walking on again,—he at length took me into the lateral wing of the tent, to the right of the entrance. Having invited me to sit down, he explained his intention of establishing a system of customs in the ceded provinces, and of making me controller of the whole.[1] He said that I might fix my residence where I pleased. As a preliminary measure, he wished me to examine the records of the Nabob's administration, and draw up a report of the commercial institutions of the country while under his government. Having dwelt upon his views at considerable length, he was pleased to conclude by saying that he knew of no one so capable of carrying them into execution, and of filling the new appointment, as myself. He was

[1] The flattering confidence shown by Lord Wellesley in my father's capabilities for such an appointment, receives explanation from the following fragment found among my father's papers:—

"Mr. Dundas, in the House of Commons last night, mentioned Mr. Thomas Twining in very flattering terms. He said that Lord Wellesley having found a reform of the custom-house at Calcutta necessary, had entrusted that important duty to Mr. Twining, who had discharged it very much to his lordship's satisfaction. His lordship said that Mr. Twining had greatly distinguished himself on this occasion, having not only corrected existing abuses, but caused a considerable increase of the public revenue."

so kind as to add, that if I preferred the situation he had lately given me I might retain it, while preparing the arrangements he wished me to introduce.[1]

The plan which the Marquis had announced was, like all his lordship's schemes, on a grand scale, and was developed with his usual ability and flow of language. I felt flattered at being selected to fill the intended office. My authority would be extensive, reaching from Allahabad to the confines of Rohilcund.[2] I should have the patronage of numerous establishments at my disposal, and my official residence would be left to my own choice. The experience I had acquired in this branch of the public service at the Presidency having made the nature of the proposed business familiar to me, I might reasonably expect to discharge the important duties with which I was to be intrusted to his lordship's satisfaction. Still, as far as comfort and respectability were concerned, I considered the charge of the fine districts of Behar so much more desirable that I was disposed to avail myself of the choice the Governor-General allowed me, as soon as I should have put the machinery of his lordship's great plan together and set it in motion.

This plan, however, seemed to me of very doubtful expediency, even while listening to the eloquence with which his lordship descanted upon its merits; and the objections I then saw appeared in greater force when I sat down and reflected upon the subject, on returning to Major Malcolm's tent. It occupied my serious attention during the rest of the day. In the evening I joined His Excellency at dinner; everything was in the same splendid style as the day before. A chair on his lordship's right-hand was reserved for his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley, the Deputy-Governor of the ceded provinces, but he did not come to occupy it. After coffee had been served, His Excellency withdrew to his sleeping-tent with the same ceremonial as before. Upon taking my leave I retired to Major Malcolm's tent, which was adjoining, less to sleep, however, than to meditate upon the great scheme which had been the subject of the Governor-General's communication to me that day. Never did I feel greater perplexity or more

[1] The situation in question was the charge of the province of Behar, concerning which particulars will be given in the following narratives.

[2] More than 300 miles, and including the cities of Agra and Dehli and Furruckabad.

desire the presence of a friend. I saw with much satisfaction the opportunity of providing for many persons whose interests I had much at heart, particularly Mr. Longcroft; and I saw also, and appreciated, the wide field for distinction which was opened to me. But, on the other hand, it appeared to me that the Governor-General, elated by the great cession he had obtained, and intent upon rendering it productive, did not see the objections to which the measure he was adopting for that purpose was subject. Should I communicate my opinion to his lordship and endeavour to persuade him to abandon his project, or at least to defer or modify it? I determined to do so.

The next morning the camp broke ground, as usual, soon after gun-fire. The Governor-General rode the greater part of the march. On arriving at the new ground, part of the camp was already there and breakfast ready. When this was over and his lordship was about to retire, I expressed a wish to speak to him, upon which he desired me to accompany him to his private tent. After a few turns here he invited me to sit down in the lateral recess, as on the preceding day. I now told his lordship that I was quite ready to commence the execution of the plan he had communicated to me the day before, and that I had arranged the manner in which it would be expedient to begin, but that I had also reflected much upon the plan itself, though without any desire to express my opinions to his lordship, unless it was his wish that I should do so, being sensible that my duty was, not to question the policy of his lordship's measures, but to execute them. The Marquis said he should like to hear my opinions, and requested me to state them. I then mentioned the doubts that had occurred to me, founded on the nature of a custom-house in India; on the impracticability of an efficient distant control over such establishments, and the inevitable abuses without this — with vexation and hindrance to the commercial intercourse of the country. Next, the undoubted want of popularity of the measure, particularly as one of the *first* acts of a new administration, and especially of an administration from which measures of liberality and moderation would be expected. I said that such establishments as his lordship had proposed had been a great grievance under the Nabob's Government, and that their continuance, or the substitution of similar restrictions in their place, would be likely to excite disappointment and dissatisfaction amongst a

susceptible population, whose attachment could only be gained by acts of forbearance, relief, and conciliation.

His lordship having listened to these remarks without any sign of impatience or displeasure, said good humouredly, "Aha, Mr. Twining, you have a very bad opinion of a custom-house," and after a few observations, explanatory of his views in respect of the proposed plan, concluded by saying, "Well, go to my brother and hear what he says." I was rising to retire when his lordship added, "But pray what plan then would you propose, for we must do something?" I answered that three plans had occurred to me: —To give up the project altogether, to postpone it to a future period, when the ceded territories should be more settled and our authority over them more established, or, if something was deemed immediately necessary, to limit the present introduction of the plan to the establishment of a custom-house at Allahabad, which, commanding the navigation of the Ganges and Jumna, would easily and effectually control the great commercial communication between the north of India and Benares, Behar, and Bengal. "I think," said his lordship, "that the last might not be a bad plan; but go and hear what my brother says."

Accordingly, on leaving his lordship, I went in my palanquin to the headquarters of the Lieutenant-Governor, in a distant part of the camp. On entering a large tent I did not find Mr. Henry Wellesley, as I expected, but saw Mr. Græme Mercer, assistant-surgeon on the Bengal establishment, and several natives of rank, apparently aumils and landholders of the ceded districts, all sitting at a long table. I sat down a little way from the end of this, to wait for Mr. Henry Wellesley's arrival. My attention during this interval was directed up the middle of the table, through the double line of native chiefs, at the head of whom, at the opposite end, sat Mr. Mercer as in court, already verifying, I thought, the report that, possessing a knowledge of the language of the country, of which Mr. Wellesley was quite ignorant, he would, in the character of surgeon to the Lieutenant-Governor, be really his adviser or leader in the principal acts of his government; and I had no doubt that the scheme of great official authority, emolument, and patronage I was then combating had received the Doctor's encouragement. In the line of natives to the right, as I looked along the table, sat Mr. Wellesley's assistant, Mr. S———, a young gentleman who was amusing himself with a monkey he held attached to a string.

The monkey sometimes sat on his shoulder and then sprang on the table amidst the great men, and was very likely, I thought, to spring *upon* one of them, as they could hardly help thinking themselves. Indeed, the whole of this scene, exhibiting the princes and chiefs of the country turned over to an assistant-surgeon and a boyish youth playing with a monkey, much surprised me, and seemed little calculated to give the elevated strangers who witnessed it a very favourable opinion of the administration to which they were in future to be subject.

The Lieutenant-Governor arriving, we sat down, when I repeated to him the observations I had already made to the Governor-General, and had no difficulty in convincing him that the plan proposed would prove injurious in a commercial point of view, premature and impolitic in the present situation of the recently-acquired countries, and unexpected and unpopular as one of the first acts of his brother's government. Scarcely, however, had Mr. Wellesley expressed his acquiescence in these views, before Mr. Mercer, who had apparently attended to what was passing, quitted his seat at the head of the long table and joined us, when the Lieutenant-Governor recapitulated to him what had been said, and concluded by declaring his own opinion that the plan had better, perhaps, be laid aside at least for the present. This decision, so satisfactory to me, was much otherwise to the Doctor, who began an argument with Mr. Wellesley in favour of the project, as a productive source of revenue to the Government; but the Lieutenant-Governor adhered to and defended his new opinion, repeating the objections I had stated. To cut short this discussion, in which the Doctor seemed to have a clearer view of his own than of the public interest, I told Mr. Wellesley that I should communicate his opinion to his brother, and withdrew for that purpose. On returning to his lordship's tent I informed him of what had passed, and after a quarter of an hour's conversation I had the satisfaction of hearing him express his final determination to defer the project altogether. Thus ended this important subject—best, I thought, for his lordship's popularity, for the ceded provinces, and for the general prosperity.

As I was walking in the bazaar of the camp before dinner to-day, the Governor-General came by me on one of the largest elephants I ever saw, and which the driver was hurrying along at a great rate. There seemed some danger of accident, from the

people not being able to get out of the way. Other elephants and horses, with his lordship's staff and escort, followed. I found afterwards that His Excellency had been shooting. In one of these excursions Lord Wellesley shot a tigress and two cubs *in a tree*, in which the mother had taken refuge. This extraordinary circumstance was reported to me by Lord Cowley, who thought I might have been present. At dinner I found his lordship more than usually polite and civil; from which I was glad to infer that he was not dissatisfied with the result of my visit. He placed me at his left hand, his brother's chair remaining unoccupied on his right. I told his lordship that I intended leaving his camp the next morning, before he moved farther on. He was then pleased to say that my visit had afforded him satisfaction, and that he should take care that I should have no difficulty in returning. Accordingly, when dinner and coffee were over, he called Colonel Gardiner, one of the company who commanded a battalion of sepoys on the opposite side of the Ganges, and had come to pay his respects to the Governor-General, and desired his particular attention to me on his way to his station the next morning; and that when arrived there he would procure me the means of returning to Allahabad. His lordship then took leave of me in the kindest manner.

At daylight next morning I set off with Colonel Gardiner, reached his station that forenoon, and dined with him and all his officers, with whom he seemed to live on the most friendly terms. The next morning I attended the parade of his battalion, and descending the Ganges on a covered boat he procured for me, stopped a few miles above Allahabad that evening, and reached the fort the morning following soon after sunrise. As soon as bearers were stationed on the road for me, I proceeded on to Benares and Rampore.

(*P.S.*—After an interval of many years.)

The principal persons mentioned in the above narrative — The Marquis Wellesley, Sir Henry Wellesley (Lord Cowley), Sir John Malcolm, Generals Kyd and Shawe — are all gone: Lord Cowley the last. I continued on very pleasant terms with his lordship as long as he lived. He was, finally, British Ambassador in France, and when I visited Paris was most kind in his attentions, and gave me his card of admission to "The Chambers" and

all other places. His brother the Marquis, on his return from India, *encamped* in Hyde Park (Apsley House), where I used to see him, and also in Conduit Street, where I lodged.

PROVINCE OF BEHAR.

[My father's appointment by the Marquis of Wellesley to the governorship of the province of Behar forms so important a phase in his official life, that it is a pity his literary remains do not include a regular account thereof, but the extent of his authority and resources, and the good use he made of them, may be gathered from a few detached narratives, an introduction to which is not inappropriately supplied by some statistical details and by an account of the city of Sasseram.]

No. 13.—Statistics of Behar: City of Sasseram.

The country under my charge contained a large city and above 12,000 towns and villages. Some of the towns were of great size, containing 70,000 inhabitants. My total population exceeded 2,000,000.

It may be said of the cities of India that they rise rapidly to greatness and sink as quickly into insignificance; but Sasseram may be cited rather as an exception to this truth than an example of it. During the 250 years which have elapsed since this city was the seat of the Imperial Government its population has undoubtedly been diminished and its prosperity reduced, but it was still a city I was proud to possess, preserving, in its extensive limits, many of its palaces and gardens, its good streets and terraced houses, and various monuments and groves—more vestiges than could be well expected of a pre-eminence so transient and remote. Sasseram possesses also a considerable trade in cotton cloths, and would be the natural centre of an extensive commerce in grain if the due development of this valuable resource were not checked by the agricultural depression of this part of my district—a serious evil, which I saw with inexpressible regret, and laboured incessantly to remove.

I have no precise account of the present population of the city, but I find that I allowed six distilleries to be established here, which I subsequently ordered to be removed outside, and according to the usual proportion of these distilleries to the

number of inhabitants, and from other circumstances, I should conjecture that the actual population might be about 80,000. In this number there were still some families whose ancestors had seen better days, during the period that Sasseram enjoyed the favours of the imperial Court, and to these, on receiving their petitions, I granted such relief as the circumstances of their case entitled them to receive, generally by reviving old pensions where the previous existence of these was established, or granting new ones. Pensions to a certain annual amount I was authorised to grant at once. For stipends beyond this, or grants of land, I first submitted the case to the Presidency, where it was sure to meet with a liberal though cautious acquiescence. This granting of pensions to the distressed and deserving inhabitants of the country was an imitation of the ancient usage of the Imperial Government which did great honour to the new administration, while the application of it to the people of my district formed one of the most pleasing acts of my public duty.

Arriving at Sasseram after an excursion to Rotas, I alighted at the pavilion of one of the ancient palaces, situated a little to the west. I had been met by the Khan of Sasseram, as he was called, a Mussulman noble of great wealth and of extraordinary influence in this part of the country. This he derived, not from his wealth alone and his extensive property in and about the city, but from the professed and acknowledged sanctity of his family, and the favours and immunities which successive emperors had conferred upon his ancestors, for what reason I never exactly knew. One of these was the privilege of presenting a couple of pepper-corns alone, when admitted to the imperial presence, an exemption which the present Khan never failed to claim in the visits I received from him. Another favour which he probably valued not less was the possession of extensive lands under Ultumgha grants—that is, free from assessment, and descendible as such to his heirs. Notwithstanding his consequence, and the influence he possessed over the inhabitants of the city and district of Sasseram, he was the most affable, good-humoured Mussulman I ever knew. In person he was rather corpulent. He had the reputation of being a good soldier. It was in his military character that I first met him. He was leading the men of Sasseram against those of Cheynpore, an adjoining division; but my arrival as the battle was about to begin prevented the conflict.

The Khan and I were, ever after, very good friends. He generally paid me a visit once a year, coming with much state, and presenting his two pepper-corns. I treated him on these occasions with the consideration due to his rank as the first Mussulman in Shahabad, and to the distinction he enjoyed amongst the people.

The palace, part of which I now occupied, as well as most of the old imperial buildings at Sasseram, was in the hands of the Khan, though by what right was never very clear. As there was no other claim, I never interfered. The Khan placing everything at my disposal whenever I visited the city, the hummaumdar or keeper of the baths of one of the old palaces always waited upon me to offer his services, which I generally accepted, these baths being very complete and in excellent preservation, the Khan keeping them in repair for his own use, and partly, I believe, for mine. They consisted of a succession of small rooms lined with marble, and heated to different degrees by steam. The bather having taken off everything but his under-drawers in one of the first chambers, walks gently forward through the others, stopping a few moments in each. By the time he reaches the last, he is in a profuse perspiration, although the heat he has passed through has been by no means oppressive. In this chamber is a small reservoir of hot water, which constantly runs into it from without, as well as through small apertures along the side of the floor, and passes off through holes at the opposite side. The marble slabs of which the floor is composed are thus washed by a running stream of not more than a quarter of an inch in depth. The bather now lying down, two men scour him with rather rough gloves, press the muscles, and pull and crack the joints of his fingers. This shampooing, luxurious or otherwise, according to the taste of the person, is continued with much professional art for about a quarter of an hour, a profuse perspiration existing all the time. The bather is then dried and reconducted gradually back to the dressing-chamber, whence he may enter his palanquin without danger. Adjoining these baths were, as usual, the apartments of the seraglio, and an extensive garden, of which some fine orange trees, laden with fruit, were now the chief ornament.

No. 14.—Visit to the Mausoleum of the Emperor Shere Shah, and Leading Events of his Life.

About 200 yards to the west of my quarters at Sasseram was the mausoleum of the celebrated Shere Shah, who, not content with the government of Shahabad, which the Sultan Baber had conferred upon him, and not respecting the right of the virtuous Humaion, whose tomb I saw at Dehli, usurped the imperial throne, destroying, at the head of the troops of Shahabad, 8000 of Humaion's army on the banks and in the waters of the Soane, driving him beyond the Indus, making Sasseram the seat of empire, and exercising the supreme sovereignty for five years, when an explosion before the fort of Kallingar, in Bundelcund, terminated his life. His body was carried to the city to which he had always shown so great a predilection, and deposited in the insular mausoleum which his eccentric taste had already prepared for it. The Khan of Sasseram, being informed of my desire to visit this tomb, made the necessary preparations. The tomb stands in the middle of a tank or artificial piece of water, remarkable for its extent. After deducting much from the limits assigned to it by some travellers who have, or have not, visited it, it is one of the largest tanks in India, and is lined all round by a wall of red stone. It is said that a bridge once led to the tomb, but no trace of it was now perceptible, and the opinion I heard on the spot afforded no evidence decisive of the accuracy of this report. Arrived at the edge of the water, I found a bamboo raft, simply but ingeniously constructed over nine large cudgeree pots placed in three parallel lines, so as to form a square, and their tops passing through the interstices of the frame. Upon this I took my seat, while a man seated behind me pushed and paddled me over, and then returned for Mr. Cock, the Dewan, the Khan, and such others on the bank as chose to follow.

The mausoleum itself differs little in magnificence and in the style of its architecture from many of the other sepulchral monuments of the imperial princes which I had seen in the more northern parts of India. It will bear no comparison with the Taje, and is inferior to the tomb of Acbar at Secundra; even the mausoleum of the unfortunate Humaion is superior in modest elegance and good taste to that of his triumphant aggressor. The

latter is a large square building of red stone, crowned by a dome of considerable size in the centre, and a smaller one at each of the four sides.

Having visited the lower chamber, in which a monument is erected over the remains of the Emperor, and the larger hall above, upon which more embellishment was bestowed, I was conducted through numerous smaller apartments, constructed principally between the periphery of the central room, under the great dome, and the four external angles of the building. I then ascended the dilapidated and crumbling stairs which conducted to the terrace round the dome, and from this point the view was highly characteristic and interesting, comprising numerous picturesque groups assembled on the banks of the water, the city of Sasseram to the east, the extensive division, bearing the same name, stretching towards the interior of my district in a northerly direction, and to the limits of Cheynpore towards the west, the Sasseram hills closing the view to the south. The Tchsuldar, my principal resident officer of the Sasseram district, having accompanied me to the island, was able to point out to me and name the different towns and villages, which this view comprehended. After wandering about for some little time longer, I took my seat upon the raft as before, and was ferried back to the shore, and all my companions followed in the same way. This navigation, singular as it was, was commodious and free from danger; but in another respect there was more reason to be thankful that no accident had occurred. The Khan and my Tchsuldar had both apprised me that there were many snakes about the mausoleum, and the numerous holes and crevices which I perceived, together with grass and bushes to the water's edge, made it probable that frogs and the usual prolific train of Indian reptiles had established themselves on the island and been followed by the universal couvre-capelle.

As chance had put under my charge one of the most remarkable monuments of Hindostan, interesting alike to the artist and the historian, I was desirous of preserving it from the rapid degradation it was undergoing, and the idea of addressing the supreme Government upon the subject often occurred to me. Such a measure would have been popular in Shahabad and Rotas, the inhabitants of which were attached to the memory of Shere Shah, by the partiality he had always evinced towards these districts, and by the care and security they had enjoyed under his administra-

tion. All India, indeed, was said to have prospered under the vigour and munificence of his government. Not only were his active liberality and public spirit directed to the improvement and embellishment of his favourite province, but extended to the most distant limits of the empire. A noble road, which passed through Sasseram, reached from the mouth of the Burrampooter to the Indus, a distance of 3000 miles. Along this, it was said, the unarmed traveller journeyed in safety, and found a serai to receive him at every stage. But meritorious and rare as is such a case of power, it could not justify the Shah's unlawful possession of it. Humaion, his rightful sovereign, was still living beyond the confines of Hindostan, bearing his misfortunes with serenity, looking forward, probably, to events more propitious to his claims, and, it may be presumed, instilling precepts drawn from his own fate into the youthful mind of his son Acbar, the prince destined to soothe his father's sorrows by the early promise of his future greatness, and eventually to restore the glory of his house, and raise it even to an unprecedented height. This deep stain on the shield of the warlike Shah, "the lion of Shahabad," as he was called, restrained me from addressing that appeal to the generosity of Government, which, as his successor in some sort in his provincial administration, and the guardian of his tomb, I should otherwise have thought it my duty to propose.[1]

Shere Shah was succeeded by his son, Selim, who, however, did

[1] The real glory of the Shah is diminished by the exaggerations of his admirers: fiction is evident, but it is not easy to say where it ends. It is true, I believe, as generally understood in this part of my district, where, particularly in Sasseram, I have frequently conversed with the principal native inhabitants on the subject, that the Shah *regulated* the public weights and measures, alone a sufficient title to the gratitude of his subjects and the praise of posterity; but it certainly is *not* true that, till his time, things were measured by the eye, or by some variable standard, such as the cubit, or length of a man's arm from his elbow to the end of his fingers. Perfection in all the arts of life had a rude beginning, followed in most cases by a long course of gradual improvement, and it is probable that the cubit or haut was a varying length in the first stages of society, but it must have ceased to be so ages before the reign of Shere Shah. *We* might as reasonably be charged with having no fixed standard of measure, because we have the foot, the inch, the nail, and barleycorn. Whatever might have been done by this extraordinary usurper, I found the weights and measures of capacity, and also the monetary currency of his province, in a very defective state, varying much in different and even contiguous parts. These were serious evils, which, however, could not be hastily removed without risking greater. They engaged my serious attention, and I had at least the satisfaction of leaving the ground more clear for future improvement.

not inherit his father's capacity or vigour, and, without these, could not long resist the difficulties of a throne founded upon usurpation. He also chose Sasseram for his residence, and, dying there, was buried not far from his father. His tomb, though nothing remarkable in itself, derives importance from its being the only trace left of his existence. The inhabitants of Sasseram have preserved no record nor tradition respecting him. The same may be said of other emperors who ended their days in this city, two of them while carrying on the siege of Rotas. The last of the Shah's lineal successors was Ibrahim, from whose hands the imperial sceptre returned to its legitimate possessor, Humaion. This prince, distinguished by his virtues and misfortunes, had held it only one year after his return from exile, when some accident, which was mentioned to me at Dehli, but of which I do not remember the particulars, terminated his life; and the young Acbar, then only in his fourteenth year, succeeded to the supreme power.

No. 15.—Tour in my District.

Such of my public establishment, European and native, as I meant to take with me, together with my elephant, horses, camel, bullocks, hackeries, tents, etc., being assembled I set out towards the Ganges, in a line nearly parallel to the Soane. Our first day's march was to a large village, to which one set of my tents had been previously despatched and pitched near it. I had not been here long before some specimens of very good cutlery were brought to me, the produce of a manufactory in the village. I expressed, as I felt, much pleasure and surprise at seeing such excellence in the productions of a retired country village, whose name was scarcely known beyond its immediate vicinity. Some pocket-knives, made apparently upon an European model, seemed equal to the famous Ashbys of Sutterworth. One set of tents, and part of my establishment, moving forwards in the afternoon, I followed them the next morning on horseback. We to-day quitted the Soane, and taking a westerly direction passed through a country very highly cultivated, and beautifully varied with plantations of the mangoe tree, as well as some gigantic specimens of the banyan.

One of the largest of these trees known in India grows here, 500 miles up the Ganges. Some of the published accounts

which I have seen of this tree throw doubt on its real proportions by their evident exaggeration, producing incredulity rather than wonder. Placing, therefore, among the wonders of the *Arabian Nights* the usual tale of this great tree, I will only say that when now visiting this part of my district, with the numerous establishment with which I necessarily moved about, my party, with horses, palanquins, and attendants; my elephant, camel, baggage, bullocks, guard of cavalry, and a detachment of sepoys, besides the numerous servants of my private household,—all encamped under the lofty vaults of this fine tree, occupying, however, only an inconsiderable part of the deep shade which its large dark-green leaves cast upon the ground. In other of its wide corridors were richly dressed, picturesque groups of the principal inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who came to pay their respects to me; in others, landholders who had petitions to present, or other business; suitors, plaintiffs and defendants, with their witnesses and vaqueels (or pleaders); while, under other parts of this colossal canopy, separated from profane objects, were the white temples of the Hindoos, with the habitations of the Bramins attached to them.

The venerable, though vigorous, mother-trunk stood in the midst of her numerous generations, which formed concentric circles about her, and might be carried to an almost indefinite extent, with a little care and assistance on the part of the inhabitants of the spot or rather, without their neglect, or positive hindrance; that is, if the ground were softened a little to admit the hanging roots, instead of being trodden upon and hardened, as at present. As the tree here described was only a few miles from my habitual residence, and I had official servants in a neighbouring village, it would have been easy for me to have its exact measurement, as well as a sketch and plan of it taken, and I regret having neglected to do so.

The population, which turned out as we passed through the villages, to gratify curiosity or show respect, was almost entirely Hindoo. The apparent ease of the people, the neatness of their villages, the goodness of their clothing, the well cultivated state of their lands, all attested the general prosperity, and showed that the fertility of the soil and industry of the inhabitants had not been repressed by immediate exactions of the state. Where I halted for the day, the landholders of the adjoining villages came about the tents with cheerful countenances, bringing large trays of shining

brass, charged with offerings from their well-stocked gardens, mangoes, pappas, custard-apples, plantains, and other fruits, and various sorts of vegetables. It was necessary to accept everything, though the abundance was even inconvenient, and would have supplied the wants of a camp much larger than mine. I heard no complaints from these happy people, and received no petitions for a remission of revenue.

In the court which I held every day after breakfast, the applications I received were principally from the joint possessors of an estate or a part of them, praying for a separation of their shares. On these occasions, if no objection existed, I generally appointed a respectable person to survey the estate, and report such a division of land, and such an allotment of revenue, as appeared equitable to all parties, and consistent at the same time with the interests of Government. This, however, was not always an easy operation. In questions in which money or property is concerned, the natives of India are fully as litigious and tenacious as those of other countries. It was sometimes difficult to keep within moderate bounds the disputes which would frequently arise between the joint sharers of an estate, although friends, or even members of the same family. The peace of many villages would sometimes be compromised by the contentions which ensued. On such occasions the officer whom I had charged with the preliminary proceedings had a very difficult and invidious task to execute. Assailed by bribery and intimidation, his integrity and courage were both exposed to trial. Although I generally succeeded in reconciling these dissensions and in restoring harmony and order, the assent of all parties to a fair partition was not always attainable. In such instances I was obliged to order a division without it, for it was not just that the interests of several proprietors should suffer from the unreasonable obstinacy of one or two.

I was now not far from the Ganges, and in my evening rides on my elephant I sometimes enjoyed the fine spectacle of this noble river rolling by, as I had done in former days in my evening rides with Mr. Fletcher at Santipore. Great, however, as were the blessings which this river spread over the country at large, in its long course from the base of the Himalaya to the sea, particular parts are subjected to considerable injury by the impetuosity of its current, in certain seasons of the year. My public correspondence records many instances of these depredations, by which much

property was destroyed, and the navigation of the Ganges rendered unsafe. Although the latter subject was not strictly connected with my official duties, I thought it right to submit it to the consideration of Government, in the following address to the Board:—

GENTLEMEN,

1. I hope it will not be deemed foreign to my duty that I should represent to your notice, for the information of Government, an important circumstance connected with the navigation of the Ganges, within the limits of the Shahabad district.

2. In whatever point of view the river Ganges be regarded, whether as the great and grand road (if I may be allowed the expression) used by travellers of every description, or in a commercial point of view, as the principal channel of conveyance for nearly the whole of the exports and imports on this side of India, it becomes an object of public concern to render its navigation as safe and expeditious as possible. The dangers and difficulties of the great river, and their influence upon the prosperity of the country, present a wide field for observation; but in this address I shall confine my remarks principally to the district immediately under my charge.

3. The banks on each side of the Ganges from the Soane to Buxar, being composed of a light mouldering soil, have for several years suffered prodigious encroachments by the river in the rainy season. In the vicinity of the river on either side, within the above limits, are many large groves of trees, considerable numbers of which annually fall into the river, in the months of August, September, and October. But during the last rains, when the ravages of the Ganges were more extensive than for several years before, whole plantations were carried into the river between the Soane and Buxar. The consequence is, that the several streams into which the Ganges divides itself after passing Buxar are so obstructed with trees that in many parts no boats of common size can pass up or down without being exposed to considerable danger.

4. In the height of the rains, when the union of these streams forms an immense body of water flowing at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour, and when the trees are more concealed under the surface, the danger is increased to such a degree as to render this part of the Ganges most seriously alarming, and notorious for accidents. Several boats were lost between Patna and Buxar last year, in consequence of their striking against the trunks of sunken trees; and a budgerow, belonging to an officer going to the Dudree fair, was, with everything on board, entirely lost from the same cause.

5. In order in some measure to remove this evil, I would beg leave to submit to the consideration of Government the expediency of my ascertaining what trees are likely, from their actual proximity to the banks, or from a probable change in the course of the Ganges, to fall into the river in the ensuing rains, and that I be authorised to order such trees to be cut down at the expense of Government, and given to their

respective owners. Personal observation enables me to say that the adoption of some such plan in this and the opposite district, before the middle of August, would be the means of saving many lives and much property from destruction towards the conclusion of the rainy season.

6. It would of course be equally an object of the proposed survey to ascertain what trees or other obstacles are already in the river, and to report and adopt such methods as may be best calculated for their removal, or for rendering them as little dangerous as possible. Their early and entire removal is indeed most desirable, but as the river has already begun to rise, nothing can be attempted in this respect till the next cold season. But there is time for removing such trees as will otherwise fall into the river in the ensuing months, if Government should deem it proper to issue instructions to that effect.—I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, etc., etc., etc.

ZILLAH, SHAHABAD,
21*st June* 1802.

I believe that Government, too unwilling to adopt *general* measures of improvement, though not inattentive to *particular* cases of distress, authorised no proceeding of the nature here recommended, nor any other. The consequence was, numerous accidents happened, which a more generous and enlightened policy would have prevented. But the commercial investment, to satisfy the calls of the Court of Directors for remittances to the home treasury, absorbed all the surplus revenue, leaving no funds for projects of public improvement or relief at the disposal of the local Government. Thus the channel of the Ganges, in many parts between the limits of my district, remained in a very dangerous state, the tops of great trees appearing above the surface in some places, the sharp points of broken branches threatening destruction to any boats which the violence of the stream might carry against them, whilst in other places the sunken trunks and roots concealed a danger still greater. In the following year, when sending a fleet of about sixty boats charged with grain, which Lord Lake had requested me to procure for his army during the war with Holkar, two of the number were sunk, and another was lost in a subsequent fleet.

The loss of houses, land, and other property by these encroachments of the Ganges in many parts of the northern boundary of my district was very considerable. On the 5th of April 1802 I informed the Board of the loss of three entire villages.

Amongst the numerous persons who presented themselves to make their salaam, as I rode out on my elephant in the evening, was my old friend Birjoo Sing. I had rendered this unfortunate

man some service, and now, upon my visiting the part of the country in which he resided, he came to express his gratitude, as I passed, by low and repeated salaams with his two hands, and by those silent but significant expressions and gestures for which the natives of India are remarkable.

My predecessor, controlled by the extreme rigour of the revenue system, had taken possession of the Birjoo's estate, and confined Birjoo himself in prison. In this situation I found him upon my taking charge of the district. His arrears being considerable, and remaining undiminished, it was not in my power to release him, without the assent of Government, to whom his imprisonment had been reported. My first reference to the Presidency respecting this man having remained without effect, an indefinite confinement, and the total ruin of his affairs, seemed to await him. To avert, if possible, consequences so calamitous, and by no means justified by the circumstances of the case, I was induced again to address the Board as follows :—

Gentlemen—I feel it to be my duty again to solicit your attention to the situation of Birjoo Sing.

This unfortunate man still remains in confinement, and according to the best information I am able to obtain is without property or the means of giving security for the arrears due by him to Government, his present situation, and the attachment upon his lands, having completely ruined his credit.

I beg leave to recommend that a survey of the lands of Birjoo Sing be immediately made, with the view of determining, by their ascertained extent and condition, whether this man deserves the severity or indulgence of Government.

On a review of all the circumstances of this estate, I am inclined to believe that Birjoo Sing agreed to take it at a much higher rent than prudence warranted ; but that the Board may see the grounds of this opinion, I beg leave to submit a comparative statement to their consideration.

Under these circumstances I cannot but again recommend an immediate survey and admeasurement of the estate, and that Birjoo Sing be set at liberty in the interim, upon his giving me security for his attendance when called upon.

The result of the proposed inquiry will afford the best means of determining whether Birjoo Sing be justly chargeable with negligence or mismanagement, or with a wanton and fraudulent breach of the conditions of his engagement. Should the result of the investigation evince that the only fault really imputable to him is the indiscretion of having taken the estate on terms too favourable to Government, it may perhaps be deemed a proper subject of consideration whether his arrears should

not be entirely remitted, and his lease cancelled, and renewed, at his option, upon conditions equitable to Government and himself; or such other plan be adopted as his innocence and misfortune, and humanity and sound policy, shall dictate.—I have the honour, etc., etc.

This and subsequent measures which I took in behalf of Birjoo Sing were successful, procuring his liberation from confinement, the remission of all his arrears, and such a reduction in the terms of his engagement as enabled him henceforth to prosper. He always afterwards showed himself extremely grateful for the service I had rendered him, and was indeed an industrious, respectable man. The losses for which, without my intercession, he might have ended his days in prison, arose chiefly from the encroachments of the Ganges.

Not many miles from the residence of Birjoo Sing was the estate of another of my zemindars, whose case was scarcely less interesting. It was set forth in a Persian petition he presented to me, and of which the following is a translation:—

Sir—Your petitioner has been a faithful servant and well-wisher of the Honourable Company from the commencement of their sovereignty, and in the shade of their protection has passed his life in ease and comfort. But in consequence of the losses sustained in his revenue, principally by encroachments of the Ganges, little remains of those valuable possessions or other property which your petitioner had spent his life in acquiring, nearly all being either sold or mortgaged. Sir, it is in the 80th year of his age that your petitioner has to sustain these heavy afflictions. You, sir, are the reliever of the distressed, and therefore humbly hope that the 15,000 rupees which your petitioner has lost by the encroachment of the Ganges will be restored to him, and that in the ensuing year, 1211, his estates may be measured and surveyed, and whatever they may be found to produce, your petitioner will engage to pay to Government, reserving to himself enough only to enable him to support the few remaining days of his existence in prayers to God for the Company's prosperity. (Signed) Hunnoomaun Sing.

I transmitted this petition to the Presidency, with the following letter:—

I have the honour to transmit a copy and translation of a petition from Hunnoomaun Sing Malik of Jalooka Neerputpoor. That the estate of this respectable old man has suffered prodigiously from the encroachments of the Ganges, that his payments to Government during the last three years have actually exceeded the supposed gross produce of his lands, and that he has thereby been reduced from a state of ease and affluence to a condition of extreme distress, are circumstances of general notoriety in the district; but whether the extent of his loss is accurately

represented at 15,000 rupees is more than I can affirm from the information at present before me. Previously, therefore, to any determination upon the prayer of this petition, in respect either to a remuneration for his past losses, or to a remission of revenue for the future, I would propose ascertaining, by investigation and survey, as soon as the season will permit, what the precise diminution of Rucba and produce has been, and what would be an equitable assessment upon that part of the estate which remains.

The measures I proposed were adopted, and finally I had the pleasure of settling everything to the satisfaction of the old man.

After passing a few pleasant days in a delightful part of my district, I marched back towards the Soane, and boats having been previously assembled, my party crossed this river a few miles above its junction with the Ganges.

I here entered an extensive tract of fine country, containing 1500 towns and villages and 200,000 inhabitants, which Lord Wellesley had lately been pleased to add to the country already under my charge. I was met, as usual, by my own officers and by the principal men of rank. Having halted a day to receive the respects of the latter, and such petitions as were presented to me, I proceeded the next morning to Moneah, a town nearer the mouth of the Soane, and encamped not far from a mausoleum of some celebrity amongst the ancient monuments of India. It was the tomb of Murdhum Shah, who died in the reign of the Emperor Jehangir, early in the sixteenth century. It is a large quadrangular building of two storeys (one above the ground floor), the upper one resting upon arches and columns, in the usual way of Mussulman construction, the centre being crowned by a handsome dome, and domes of smaller size, supported on light pillars, being placed at the four angles of the terrace. It might be reckoned amongst the secondary buildings of a similar kind that I had seen at Dehli, and was much visited by travellers proceeding up the Ganges. I was proud to possess an ornament to which, probably, no structure in this part of India, perhaps no *tomb* in any country, was superior. The usual extent and complexity of such edifices did not conceal the elegance of its design, nor diminish the fascinating lightness of its general appearance. Nor was its architectural effect impaired, while its sepulchral character was heightened, by the vicinity of a chaste and handsome mosque. There is an expression of piety and tenderness in the association of such objects—the tomb and the house

of prayer—by the same hand that every faith may venture to approve.

Being now only twelve or fifteen miles from the large military station of Dinapore, which Lord Wellesley had recently placed under me, and Lieutenant James Cock, son of my companion, Mr. James Cock, being stationed there, we broke ground early the next day and proceeded to that station.

We breakfasted with Lieutenant Cock in his quarters, and I afterwards received from the Brigade-Major, Thomas Harriott, reports of the different affairs I had placed under his direction; for though Lord Wellesley had given me charge of the civil administration of this station, and I was accordingly responsible for its proper execution, I interfered as little as possible, leaving the entire patronage and influence, and advantage of every kind, in the hands of the commanding officer, General Nicol, and Major Harriott. For this reason, not to diminish their authority by showing my own, I had not brought my official establishment within the limits of the station. The civil department might well concede a few of its superior advantages to the military line, and I was happy by acting upon this principle in respect to the two military stations under me, Dinapore and Buxar, of thus manifesting a desire to promote harmony and goodwill between the two branches of the same service.

I was glad to avail myself of this opportunity of assisting Major Harriott through a little difficulty in which he had inadvertently placed himself. He had begun to construct a residence a short distance from the cantonments without the required communication to me, and without the assent of the proprietor of the ground. This person complaining of the circumstance to me, I was under the necessity of requesting the Major to desist. I now communicated to Major Harriott my concurrence with his wishes, provided he first obtained the assent of the proprietor of the ground. This, with the aid of my intercession, was procured, and the Major, much satisfied, resumed and completed his building.

General Nicol having represented to me that a distillery for the making of spirituous liquors had been erected within three miles of cantonments, I wrote in reply as follows:—

My dear General—I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter, and shall, with much satisfaction, order the immediate removal of the

still you mention, as well as of any other which you may find objectionable, whether the same may happen to be within the prescribed limits or not.

We dined with the commanding officer of Lieutenant Cock's regiment, and afterwards returned to my camp.

On the following days I halted successively at the fine towns of Byram, Jellalabad, Arwul (belonging to the princess of that name, whose possessions I had restored to her),[1] and Duodnaghur, the last containing 60,000 inhabitants, several spacious streets, and numerous mosques, mausolea, and temples. It enjoys also a considerable historical celebrity. I encamped in a fine grove of mangoe trees, near the town, and held a court there during two days, receiving the chief inhabitants and the petitions of all; for I always had a locked box, with a slit in the lid, accessible to all, in which every person, of whatsoever condition, might drop his petition or complaint.

At Mowbellypore I had been joined by Mr. Philip Carter, Superintendent of the Public Roads and Bridges, an appointment which I had given him with much pleasure, and the duties of which he discharged much to my satisfaction.

Having been also joined by my military assistant, Colonel Stafford,[2] I made an inspection of the invalid establishments of the Bengal Army, forming seventeen villages arranged in detached cottages and gardens, which Lord Wellesley had placed under me. His lordship took a laudable interest in this magnificent institution, calling it *his* institution. The old soldiers turned out to receive me as I entered their lines on my elephant. I halted a few days amongst them to receive their petitions and redress their grievances, which, however, were generally few and unimportant, consisting principally of trifling disputes amongst themselves or with the shopkeepers of the bazaars, or with the adjoining landholders, upon whose grounds the veterans were rather disposed sometimes to encroach by extending their own garden allotments.

The following are my instructions to Colonel Hugh Stafford:

You will now, therefore, as soon as you can make it convenient, proceed to the inspection and payment of the several invalid stations.

In respect to the mode in which I think the invalids should

[1] See Narrative No. 18.

[2] My military rank was that of Major-General.

be paid, as the paper which I privately delivered to you contains my public sentiments on the subject, I shall beg leave to enclose a copy of it for your guidance.

From a desire to shorten your journey, particularly during the extreme heat which now prevails, I have merely desired that each establishment should be visited, leaving it to you to make the visit *before* or *after* the payment, as you may find most convenient. It cannot, however, fail to occur to you that the inspection of a village *previous* to the distribution of the pensions is the more natural and desirable course, as being calculated to exercise a salutary influence on the sepoys.

I should be sorry to add any rule which might seem to impose unnecessary inconvenience, or protract your circuit longer than the important duties to be performed may require; but in addition to the objects already mentioned, your residence in each village, for a few days at least, at the periods of payment and inspection, appears to be absolutely necessary, for the purpose of settling, as far as you may be able, such misunderstandings as may have arisen between the invalids themselves, or between them and the other inhabitants of the district, giving on these occasions such advice as may seem most just and conciliatory, but abstaining from coercion, reporting the particulars to me where your endeavours at adjustment may prove ineffectual.

The petitions of the invalids, stating that they are not in possession of their assigned quantity of land, are entitled to the earliest attention. Upon each particular case that may arise I shall be glad to receive your opinion. Although I have found that complaints of this sort are generally unfounded, I do not consider it expedient to discourage them. It is desirable, not only that the invalids should be in possession of their allotted portions of land, but that they should be fully satisfied that they are so. On petitions, therefore, of this nature I recommend your ascertaining by actual measurement whether the quantity of land in the possession of the invalid be less than his portion; and if it prove to be so, whether the deficient quantity has been taken possession of by another invalid or by a neighbouring zemindar. In the former case conciliatory remonstrance may be expected to cause restitution; in the latter, though a similar mode of adjustment should still be tried, it will not, probably, so generally succeed. Whenever this may happen you will be pleased to transmit to me a statement

in Persian, in order that I may afford the invalid the assistance to which he may appear entitled.

Either during your circuit or at its termination you will have the goodness to report to me the state of the villages, particularly as respects the health, comforts, and moral conduct of the invalids. You will also consider it your duty to see that the reservoirs, water-courses, and embankments in each village are in proper repair; that the streets, plantations, and gardens are not neglected; that the public walks and tanks are in a clean and salubrious state; that the neatness and uniformity of the villages are preserved; and that the lands of the pensioners are in a proper state of cultivation.

I have ordered the head moonshy of this department of my office, as well as an officer from my treasury, and an escort of sepoys, to accompany you. I have also sent orders to the chief officers in charge of the districts in which the invalid villages are situated, or through which you may pass, to show you every respect and grant you every assistance.

My bungalows on the banks of the Soane are at your service, as well as every other accommodation in my power to afford you. I would offer you my tents, but during this hot weather you will be better without them.

At present I have only to add that though the care of the invalid sepoys of the army, their widows and orphans, is not the most ostensible duty of my public situation, I feel it to be a sacred trust committed to my charge, and on no consideration can I consent to neglect it. But I shall at all times be happy to afford you in every part of your duty the utmost accommodation consistent with this imperative obligation.

I understand that when the sepoys of the army are invalided they express a desire to come to Shahabad. Let us endeavour to keep up a predilection so flattering to us. I did not apply to Government for the control of the invalid establishments, for which indeed my other official duties scarcely allow me time; but Lord Wellesley expressing a laudable solicitude for the prosperity of this institution, I told him that if it were placed under me the invalids should not be neglected. I receive no salary and seek no credit. I am satisfied that both should be enjoyed by you. I desire only that the intentions of Government towards the men committed to my care be scrupulously fulfilled.

Of my two deputies above mentioned, Colonel Hugh Stafford and Major Thomas Harriott, the former became Major-General, and died in India. I do not know what became of Major Harriott, but I believe that he also died in India. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Harriott, of Twickenham, is his son.

No. 16.—Visit to the Fort of Rotas.

Acbarpore, where the Rajah of Rotas resides, is only two or three miles from the bottom of the ascent leading to the fort of Rotas. The Rajah having been apprised of my intention of visiting this celebrated place, had sent a great number of people to remove the bushes and underwood which overgrew the old path, and make it practicable for a palanquin; for the morning sun shining directly against the hill, I was unable to ascend it in any other way. Informed in the evening that this operation was nearly completed, I left Acbarpore at daybreak the next morning, and rode to the foot of the hill, accompanied by the Dewan of the Zillah, by the Rajah, Messrs. Cock and Carter, and such of my amlah and principal persons of that part of the country as wished to be of the party. Everything being ready, the line moved forwards, headed by some of my sepoys, armed peons, and tam-tams, the latter beating the small drums tied round their waist, to keep off the tigers. Notwithstanding this usual precaution, and the frequent discharge of muskets, the path was so narrow and the bushes so near to us on each side, brushing my palanquin as it passed along, that I could not help feeling considerable uneasiness on account of the many individuals exposed to the spring of a tiger, with scarcely any effectual protection; for a tiger rushing upon a man from one side of the path would carry him into the jungle on the other before his arms, or those of his companions, could be made use of. After a rough march of about twenty minutes, over stones and pieces of rock which had fallen from the upper part of the hill, the ascent became much steeper, the side of the hill here being so nearly perpendicular that the diagonal and zig-zag line which we now followed must have been a work of considerable difficulty. The heat of the sun compelled me to remain in my palanquin; but I was obliged to reverse my position and place my head towards the ascent. Having an extra number of bearers, they overcame every obstacle with

their usual patience, and reached the summit. Having rested here a few minutes, we moved to the right, and soon came to the outward walls of the fort, or rather to the principal part of it, for the fortifications once extended along the brow of the hill, both to the right and left, forming a circuit said to have included the entire summit, an area of vast extent. Within the interior of the remaining walls were the ruins of several mosques and temples. The most remarkable among the latter was a Hindoo structure of a very ancient date. Its domes and conical form, and the general style of its architecture, reminded me of some of the buildings at Muttra. Its antiquity was probably as great; but in this elevated situation, exposed to the action of the elements, so destructive in India, and to the accidents of the repeated sieges the fort had sustained, its preservation was more remarkable, especially as the Mussulman buildings, though of a date far more recent, were in a state of much greater decay.

Whether Buddha, the celebrated chief of a great sect of Hindoos in Behar, and since extended to Ceylon and China, was born at Rotas, as generally asserted, or at Ghya, a town not far distant, is a point no longer to be decided by local traces or popular tradition; but in either case it seemed probable that the temple I saw was consecrated to his worship at a very early period. But Rotas seemed more eligible as a military position than as a seat of religion or philosophy; and accordingly its chief renown is founded on its martial history, true or fabulous. It is certain, however, that it had frequently repelled the attacks of the imperial armies, conducted by the emperors in person; and it may even be true, as generally related and believed in Shahabad, that it was never taken, excepting by stratagem. It was in this manner that the Emperor Shah Jehan obtained possession of it; and it was also taken in this way by Shere Shah in 1592. The Shah having requested the Rajah who occupied it to admit his women and treasure, sent armed men disguised as bearers, putting others into the covered palanquins or doolies, a story which the difficulty of ascent and the necessary numbers and easy vigilance of the garrison seemed to render not very probable. How were the bearers to conceal their arms in a long and almost impracticable path, winding about under the bastions which lined the edge of the hill? Only one palanquin could reach the summit at the same time; and the examination of the first men, which was not prohibited by the custom of the country, the

interior of the palanquin alone being held sacred, would at once have defeated the project, with almost inevitable ruin to those who remained upon the ascent. If, therefore, the alleged stratagem did really take place and succeed, it was probably aided by the collusion of the Rajah himself, or of his people.

Of the cultivation, and even villages, said to have covered formerly the extensive plain which forms the summit of the hill, no trace whatever remained, or, at least, was not perceptible from the spot where I stood, the jungle coming so close to the ruins that it was deemed prudent to beat the tam-tams while we were examining them. A greater danger—one, at least, which on all such occasions inspired me with more uneasiness—was in the probable presence of snakes and scorpions among the ruins. Considering, indeed, how large our party was, scrambling carelessly over these undisturbed remains of antiquity, it was fortunate that no accident of this kind occurred. As this fortress was often chosen as a dépôt for treasure during the wars or revolutions of the country, some of my companions wished me to order excavations to be made. But such a search after wealth on the part of Government is not very honourable, even if it succeeds, and is ridiculous where it fails. It seemed probable, however, that such attempts might lead to the discovery of articles of curiosity, such as coins, arms, or inscriptions. It was here that Cossim Ally, the banished Nabob of Bengal, deposited his immense treasures during the siege of Patna, and before the battle of Buxar.

I was particularly pleased with the view from one of the old bastions which overhang the hill, and completely commanded, in all its length, the path by which we had ascended. The town of Acbarpore, and the two camps there, and the Soane directing its course towards the Ganges, seemed almost at our feet. Tillowta and the Begum's country, and numerous other towns and villages, were visible; and with the exception of some distant hills beyond the Soane, rather to the right, all that I saw formed a part of my own little principality.

As I cast a look to the south-west, in which quarter the Soane passes the frontier of the Company's territories, I could not but feel a desire to penetrate in that direction; but without the knowledge of Government I could not properly leave my district. I was, however, forcibly struck with the obvious and defenceless opening to invasion which the valley of the Soane here presented into one of

the richest parts of the Company's dominions: and but for the unthankfulness with which propositions involving an increase of expenditure were received at the Presidency, I should have addressed Government on the subject. The observation however which I now made caused a deep impression on my mind, and determined me to cultivate more particularly the attachment of the martial population of this part of my district, in order that the same might be promptly available to the public service in case of emergency.

Having seen everything, we returned to the edge of the precipice, and began to descend, which was accomplished without any accident or particular difficulty. My elephant was waiting for me at the bottom; but the sun being high, I continued in my palanquin to Acbarpore. The Rajah having first accompanied me to my camp, and received my acknowledgments for his great zeal on this occasion, returned to his own.

No. 17.—Drought in Behar.

In the latter end of June I informed the Government of the serious aspect which the country presented, and I continued these communications at short intervals.

My first attention had been called to this subject about the 10th June, when, after a long period of most oppressive heat the state of the atmosphere did not indicate an approaching commencement of the rainy season.

The 15th June arrived, but still without change, or the usual indication. Although it was too early to give up expectation, it would have been imprudent to rely too much upon it. An excess of early preparation would be of little inconvenience, and might avert the most serious consequences. I therefore sent orders to all my officers charged with divisions of country, to prepare and send me exact accounts of the grain of all kinds within their respective limits. This knowledge, with that which I already possessed of the amount of population, would put me in possession of our precise situation, and enable me to adopt the measures the most suitable to it.

At the same time I ordered all water-courses to be cleared, wells to be deepened, or new ones dug, and the suspension of all distilleries from articles of food.

In this manner we reached the 1st of July. The heat was now so great that although I still continued to hold a court every day, the transaction of business became very oppressive. Such persons, suitors and others, as were not immediately required before me retired outside, and sat down in groups in the shade of a grove of mangoe trees a short distance off.

The 12th of July came without change or appearance of any.

In a report to the Presidency for the information of Government I say: "No rain has fallen for many months. The soil is so hard as to be impenetrable to the plough, and the sky is still as cloudless as in the months of April and May. One crop is burnt up, and no preparation can be made for another. I have granted a suspension of the public revenue where this relief has appeared expedient, and adopted other measures suited to existing circumstances. Although sensibly alive to the actual position of the country under my care, I see no ground for alarm, and indeed any expression of alarm would at once realise a danger now distant and uncertain. I have ample resources at command, and shall take care to increase them as the public emergency shall increase."

The 1st August came, and still no rain, nor indication of any. My despatches from all quarters announced a considerable mortality amongst the inhabitants, not from a want of food, but from the excessive heat. Twenty-four Englishmen belonging to an European regiment stationed in one of my towns died in one day after an hour's illness. Such distress would naturally lead to some disorders.

When I first received my present appointment the station was without any regular post or post-office. These I established, combining a regular daily despatch and receipt of letters to and from Calcutta in one direction, and Benares and the north-western districts in the other. A mail was despatched every evening, and arrived every morning, generally when I was at breakfast, and was delivered to me. This convenience and safety gave general satisfaction. Hitherto there had not been the slightest interruption to this regularity; but now the mail for the Presidency was stopped one night, the Patna bag opened, and the letters examined, as if to discover whether they contained anything valuable. One of the two carriers and the drummer who accompanied them, to frighten wild beasts in passing through woods, received several blows, the drum was broken, and part of the clothes of the men was taken from them.

This first manifestation of disorder, though little surprising,

caused me much regret. It was necessary to notice it with decision. I therefore issued a proclamation offering a considerable reward for the apprehension of the robbers, for whom also a particular search was made, but without success.

Nothing of the kind occurred subsequently, but a despatch from my officer, a man of high rank, in charge of the western division of my district, brought me intelligence of a more serious character. It was in this fine country that the chief native prince, the Rajah Bickermajeet Sing, resided, and where also I had established my *protégé*, Philip Carter. I was informed that in consequence of the continued drought and the interruption of agricultural labour, considerable uneasiness began to prevail, and that a strong armed escort which the Rajah was sending with 20,000 rupees to my treasury had been attacked by a numerous party of armed men, and the whole of the money taken, after a very brave resistance by the Rajah's people, one of whom was killed, and two or three severely wounded, and not expected to live.

As it was more easy to extinguish the first spark of insubordination than arrest its effects, I ordered bearers to be placed on the road, and, travelling all night in my palanquin, the next morning reached Mr. Carter's residence.

I was immediately waited upon by the Rajah, with whom I was upon the most friendly terms. I once paid him a state visit in his palace, only three miles off, an attention he had never received before. But I considered this respect due to a venerable and amiable prince, whose family had held the highest rank in India more than 1800 years, he being a lineal descendant of the great prince from whom the Hindoos to this day date their era, a few years before our era.

I received also the other principal inhabitants of this pleasant country, and had no difficulty in tranquillising their minds. I frankly explained to them the measures I had adopted and still contemplated. But the success of my arrangements, I told them, would chiefly depend upon their own conduct. I engaged to carry the entire population under my care through the difficulties of the crisis, not indeed without some personal inconvenience and partial privation, but without *further* suffering, provided, however, that all were obedient and quiet. They were like passengers in a boat, they were safe as long as they remained still, but any rash movement, whether from impatience or despair, would endanger all.

I expressed my displeasure at the great outrage which had been

committed on their venerable Prince, and also on the Government, in attacking a strong escort of the Rajah charged with money for the public treasury, wounding and killing several of the men, and taking off the treasure. As the wood from which the robbers issued commanded the great road, and was therefore favourable to such attacks, as well as to the concealment of wild beasts, I ordered it to be cut down, and a village to be constructed in its place, by which measure a public danger was converted into a public convenience and protection.[1]

I further told these people that the country they inhabited was, I thought, the pleasantest that I had seen in India, and that I intended occasionally to reside amongst them; that with that view I had just selected a spot for a bungalow, and desired Mr. Carter to prepare the plan of one for my inspection.

The object of my visit being thus satisfactorily attained, I returned to headquarters, travelling necessarily in the night to avoid the excessive heat. I had not been returned home many days when another very unlooked-for incident occurred. Late one evening, just as I was retiring to my bedroom, a despatch arrived from Lord Lake, then at the head of the grand army in the Doab, or north-west part of India, against Holkar, the commander of the Mahrattah forces, a very valiant, active, and powerful enemy; and now, as on many other occasions, our possession of India depended upon the success of our army.

His lordship required a very large quantity of grain, no less than 5,000,000 of pounds, for the use of his army and for provisioning the fortress of Allahabad. He did not suppose that I could furnish all this great supply, but desired that I would procure and forward with the least possible delay as large a portion of it as I could.

Nothing could be more inopportune than this requisition. On the one hand, the urgent wants of the main army, then in the field against the most powerful enemy India could produce; on the other hand, the extensive population committed to my care had a special claim to my solicitude. Upwards of 2,000,000 of people were dependent on the measures I adopted, and relied upon my protection. Lord Lake obviously wished not only to have supplies of grain thrown into the rear of the army, but that in case of a retreat he might fall back upon the great fortress of Allahabad, and find it stored to receive him.

[1] Such was the origin of Twining-Gunge.

I could the better discern these motions and appreciate their prudence from knowing personally the whole country over which his lordship was moving, and its total inadequacy to afford supplies for so large an army. I well knew too the fort of Allahabad and its vast importance if duly provisioned, and its uselessness if not.

I retired to rest, less however to sleep, than to consider these important subjects. Having done so I determined to send the required supply to Lord Lake's army; for this was a great state necessity of the most pressing urgency. My own necessities were not so immediate, and were moreover dependent upon an event not yet certain, namely, the loss of the next crop. The season of preparation, though far advanced, was not yet passed. A fall of rain might take place within the next forty-eight hours, and would at once dissipate the existing apprehension. Besides, the boats which would take to the Commander-in-chief his supplies would afterwards be a ready means at my disposal for obtaining relief from the Bengal districts or other parts beyond the influence of the prevailing drought.

I therefore rose at daybreak the next morning, and sent a despatch to Lord Lake, informing him that I took *all* the supply upon myself, and that he might rely upon having the fort of Allahabad duly stored, and the entire quantity of grain he desired within his reach as soon as the necessary water-carriage could be procured. If, indeed, I had looked at every difficulty that might follow this engagement, and had asked myself whether, in the present situation of my district, I could certainly accomplish what I undertook to perform, I might hardly perhaps have ventured to answer in the affirmative, for the question would have implied doubt, and produced hesitation. But I had always found that decisive resolutions executed themselves. I had, moreover, in every division of the country under me able and efficient men, in the habit of executing my orders with promptitude. At the head of one department was James Cock, Esq., a gentleman of great ability and zeal; and in another I had a very clever Hindoo officer, whom I had raised from an inferior position to one of considerable importance. I had only to put this and similar agency in motion, and in a few days the grain was provided and ready to be put on board the boats as they arrived. To procure these was a matter of much difficulty; but by sweeping the Ganges up and down the river, and offering a liberal price, I was able to form three successive fleets,

which eventually reached their destination, and, with the exception of two boats lost in a storm, deposited their cargoes within the time mentioned by the Commander-in-chief.

I had the satisfaction of receiving his lordship's acknowledgments, as well as those of Lord Wellesley.

This extra affair being disposed of, my undivided attention was again turned to circumstances connected with the drought. This continued, and of course with aggravated effects. September came without a drop of rain.

On the 2nd of September my despatches from eleven different divisions of country contained very unfavourable accounts, especially from the extensive Rotas district. The drought and its anxieties continued till the 18th September. On the evening of that day a despatch from the south informed me that rain had fallen on the hills, and that water was already flowing through a water-course which I had ordered to be made.

The clouds gradually extended themselves, and in a few days more I had the inexpressible joy of witnessing from the top of my house the whole country as far as I could see covered with water. Despatches announcing the happy change now came to me in rapid succession from every quarter.

And thus at last we were providentially saved from one of the most afflicting of human calamities.

The public apprehension lasted three months, and certainly during that time I did not sleep upon a bed of roses.

No. 18.—The Princess of Arwul.

The principality from which this Princess derived her title was situated in the province of Behar, about 400 miles up the Ganges. It consisted not only of the large town of Arwul, but numerous villages spread over a tract of fine country, along the borders of a noble river whose bottom was strewed with diamonds and cornelians. Her story was somewhat remarkable.

The Princess was only seventeen years of age when this inheritance came to her on the death of her husband. During his life the affairs of the territory had been very ably conducted by a relation, also of high rank and a man of business. The Prince accordingly recommended him to the confidence of the young widow. She

followed this advice, and her succession having been acknowledged and decreed by the British Government, the administration was conducted and the revenues collected and paid to the Government in her name. All orders and documents received her signature and seal. In this manner things took the course too usual on such occasions in India, and probably in all countries; honesty and good intentions, supposing them to have existed at first, yielded to the facilities of deception, and these facilities would be multiplied as moral restraints were removed or weakened. The Princess receiving, without care or trouble, all the honours of her station, with ample funds at her disposal to support its splendour, rewarded the good offices of her able manager with incessant testimonies of her satisfaction. She even went so far as to declare her intention of rewarding his fidelity and usefulness by making him heir to her title and estates. Nothing could be more dangerous than the impatient ambition such a perspective was calculated to excite; for whoever saw a future crown without longing to have it on his head? The scene of the young Henry is that probably of every expectant prince. Besides, the Princess was likely to live as long as himself. He determined therefore to attempt to obtain possession of her inheritance and rank without this delay.

To a considerable extent he already possessed the means of executing this criminal design. Having had the entire patronage of the estates, all the chief persons of the household, as well as all the civil and military officers, were of his nomination; and he had besides, by his liberality, acquired considerable popularity among the inhabitants at large.

All the necessary measures, therefore, towards the completion of his design were easily effected, excepting one which seemed to present an insuperable difficulty. For it was requisite, not only that the Princess should sign her abdication, but that this should be sanctioned by the British officer in charge of the province, *on her own application.* This difficulty, however, was overcome, by filling up with the forms required *blank* papers which the Princess *had signed and sealed for other purposes.* His name thus became substituted for hers on the Government records, and his succession to all her rights was publicly proclaimed.

When intelligence of these proceedings reached the Princess she was amazed. She immediately applied for redress; but her application was to the quarter which had pronounced her degrada-

tion. Her efforts were further neutralised by the influence, now all-powerful, of her deceiver, and she would, in all probability, have remained his prisoner instead of his legitimate ruler all her days, but for a very unexpected occurrence.

Lord Wellesley had given me charge of one of the finest districts under his Government. It was bounded by rivers on three sides and by a range of hills on the fourth. It contained two fortresses of distinction (one considered impregnable under the native Government) and 12,000 towns and villages; and a spirited, but industrious population of 2,000,000. It was once the residence of the Emperors, and the old imperial city still existed, together with some parts of the imperial palaces and marble baths; and as *I* was now the Emperor, I generally used these when visiting this part of the country.

I was pleased with my little sovereignty. In my visits to its different divisions I moved about with the parade and display of former times, being accompanied with a large number of attendants, civil and military. Wherever I encamped I held a court; received the homage of the principal inhabitants; the petitions and complaints of all; granted redress; distributed pensions; ordered the execution of public works, and the formation of villages for the reception of retired sepoys from our army, whom Lord Wellesley had been pleased to place under my protection.

Lord Wellesley in very flattering terms expressed himself satisfied with my management of the different affairs he had entrusted to me. But where his lordship felt satisfaction he did not express it by words alone. He was pleased to prove his opinion by adding to the extensive districts already under my charge a considerable tract of very fine country, comprising six cantons or large territorial divisions. It contained 1500 towns and villages and 200,000 inhabitants: and it so happened that the principality of Arwul, the territory of the deposed Princess, was situated in it.

Two years had elapsed since her deposition took place. Her power was quite gone, and that of the new Prince completely established.

As soon, however, as the transfer of the new country to my authority was completed, the Princess sent a petition to me, as her new chief, setting forth the circumstances of her case and beseeching my protection. I was much struck with the singularity and

gravity of her representations, and fixed a time for a public hearing. Both parties and their numerous followers and witnesses attended; the Prince in person, and from his officially acknowledged rank he had a seat in court. The Princess, with her retinue, formed an encampment not far from my residence, and was represented before me by her vaqueels and pleaders — able men, very handsomely dressed.

As her sex and rank made her appearance before me impossible, I had a large tent pitched near the court and divided across the middle with a cloth partition, so that I could put questions to her and receive her answers without a personal view.

The proceedings lasted several days and attracted much attention. The pleadings were in the Hindostanee language, and were long and able on both sides. The voluminous records and papers produced were in the Persian language. They fully established the facts I have already mentioned. Numerous papers in the Persian language, which the Princess imperfectly understood, had been signed by her on being presented to her by the present Rajah for other declared objects; thus a will in his favour, expressly limited to take effect *at her death*, was transformed into an *immediate* surrender of her title and possessions.

The result was, I annulled the British decree and declared the young Princess re-established in the palace, possessions, rank, and authority of her late husband, a prince descended from one of the most ancient families in India. She herself was *said* to be a handsome, elegant young woman.

As the Princess was a widow, I had the power to constitute her my ward and take the administration of her affairs into my own hands, but I was unwilling to do anything that would diminish her satisfaction, and therefore gave her free possession and full authority, assuring her moreover of my future protection, and advising her to apply to me in case of difficulty.

Her country was soon after visited by a severe drought, but on the representation of her vaqueel, who was always in attendance, I remitted a part of her public revenue.[1]

[1] I find the following in a document evidently of an official character.—T.T.

"Mr. Twining's decision reinstating the Princess of Arwul in the possessions of the late Prince has perhaps caused more satisfaction in this part of India than any measure since our possession of the country.

He has issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the principality, directing their future submission to the Princess alone." J. C.

In the following year, when on a tour through my new district with my numerous official suite, I visited the Arwul territory and encamped at Arwul itself, the chief town, very pleasantly situated on the high bank of the diamond and cornelian-bearing Soane. I held a court here for a few days, receiving visits from the principal men of rank of the surrounding country, and petitions from all persons who had any to present; and granting pensions in particular cases from my public treasury, a most agreeable exercise of my official authority.

On entering the Princess's territory on my elephant, I was met by her principal officers, very handsomely attired, who, after the usual offerings, presented a Persian address, over which the flowers of Asiatic compliment were of course profusely scattered. She said she was indebted to me for all she possessed, and that the principality was mine. She even renewed, while I was at Arwul, and I believe with real earnestness, the determination she had before expressed to bequeath all her possessions to me, although I had exposed to her the extravagance and utter inadmissibility of such a design, and my particular desire that the mention of it might not be repeated.

No. 19.—Last Day in Calcutta.

The last day of my being in Calcutta I dined with the Marquis Wellesley at the Government House. The party consisted of about thirty. On the right of his lordship sat the Honourable General St. John; on his left, Mr. Pattle, formerly of the East India Direction, but which he had quitted to return to Bengal. I sat next Mr. Pattle.

After a splendid entertainment, as usual all the company retired, excepting General St. John, who, being about to leave India in the fleet then under despatch, had an audience of His Excellency in a room adjoining the dining-room. I was disposed to avail myself of the last opportunity I should have of speaking to his lordship in private, and of returning my thanks for the kindness I had received from him on so many occasions. I accordingly waited at the entrance of the corridor through which he would pass to his private apartments, and when he approached, after leaving General St. John, I met him, and explained my object. He received me

very kindly, and invited me to return with him to the room he had left. It was, like all the rooms of this eastern palace, brilliantly lighted with elegant chandeliers and wall-shades of cut glass. Having crossed this room to the opposite side, he asked me to sit down, and placed himself near me in his accustomed manner.[1] Having said that I could not leave India without again expressing my acknowledgments for the numerous favours I had received from his lordship, he was pleased to speak of my public services in very handsome terms. He said that the Board of Revenue had paid me the greatest compliment a public servant could receive when speaking of my administration of the country submitted to my charge. I said that I had endeavoured to make myself master of the various affairs which his lordship had entrusted to me, and to gain the confidence and attachment of the native population of all ranks, as well as the approbation of Government, though it would often have been easier to obtain the latter by seeking it exclusively, but that I had never sought praise in that manner. I had diminished the public arrears 40 per cent, but by measures which increased the prosperity and satisfaction of the natives in an equal degree. His lordship then expressed his regret at my leaving India, and said he would give me any appointment I might wish to have instead of the judgeship of Behar if I could remain, adding that I did not look ill. I thanked his lordship, but said that though I was pretty well in the cold weather, I was subject to a dangerous return of liver complaint in the hot months, and that my medical advisers considered a temporary absence quite necessary. "Then," said the Marquis, "I will give you any appointment you may like to have on your return; but I will now give you a public testimonial to the Court of Directors, or I will write to your father, from whom I have received a letter I have not hitherto had time to answer. I can hardly find leisure for breakfast, and am obliged to neglect my family correspondence. Shall I write to your father or to the Court." I replied that I most valued my father's satisfaction, and that a letter to him would be sufficient. Upon my observing that his lordship appeared to enjoy good health, he said he was much troubled with boils, but that otherwise his health was good. He

[1] I once sat with Lord Wellesley thus in the *middle* of his largest room. I thought the position singular, there being only two chairs, no table. Whether chosen as being more cool, or more suitable for confidential conversation, I could not tell.

accompanied me back to the corridor, and on my there taking leave, shook me cordially by the hand and wished me a good voyage, and the recovery of my health.

P.S. Twickenham, 1845.—This able and accomplished nobleman, the most vigorous, enlightened, and statesmanlike governor that India had seen, and who with less ambition, or an ambition more tempered with justice towards other states, would perhaps have been the greatest, did not retain his high station long after I came away, being replaced by Lord Cornwallis. I frequently saw him on his return to England—at Ramsgate, Apsley House, and at my lodgings in Conduit Street. On these occasions he always expressed himself in the same unreserved manner as in India. Had he then become minister as was expected, I might, perhaps, have come in for a share of the loaves and fishes. I even began to think of what I should take, and fixed my choice upon —— then vacant, or the Chairmanship of the Committees of the House of Commons. The salaries of these places were moderate; and it was not salary that I desired, but respectable employment; for having been, I may say, active, and in some degree useful in India, I found a life of inactivity and uselessness irksome. At the same time, I had no inclination to be drawn into the vortex of English politics, nor from occupation connected with India, for which I felt myself more qualified; nor to desert the native population of India, whose character and language and habits and wishes were familiar to me, and whose interests I studied while in India, with the view of promoting them on my return to England.

All this is now retrospective, as the present soon must be; and on looking back to these things my impression is that, as far as my sons and myself are concerned, my time has been as pleasantly and usefully passed as it would have been in the pursuits to which I have alluded.

As, then, on many occasions from my early youth I have acknowledged the protection and guidance of Providence, so I now express my gratitude for the divine favour which blesses the evening of my life with health, ease, and contentment.

APPENDIX

Leading Incidents of the Life of the Author subsequent to his Indian Career, by his Son, Thomas Twining, Perryn House, Twickenham.

July 1893.

It was in the spring of 1805 that my father definitively returned to England, obliged by the effects of the climate of India to close prematurely a brilliant career in the civil service of the East India Company. That this decision was not by any means come to through want of encouraging patronage and brilliant offers has been seen by the account of the last interview with Lord Wellesley at Calcutta, given at p. 523.[1] Unfortunately my father had become too much a prey to the usual liver complaint to encounter another hot season, and, indeed, a letter addressed to his father during his homeward voyage had quite the character of a farewell. His complaint took however a favourable turn; and after his return to England his recovery must have proceeded with remarkable rapidity, for before the end of the year he appears to have been making a pleasure tour in the eastern counties. He there made the acquaintance of my dear mother, Elizabeth Gifford, to whom he was married on 21st January 1806. I was born on 28th December of that year.

My earliest recollections are connected with travelling, for my father and mother visited most of our health and pleasure resorts

[1] That Lord Cornwallis was equally well disposed towards my father is shown by the following extract from a letter addressed by his lordship to my grandfather:—

"You are perfectly right in believing that your son requires no other introduction to me than his own talents and his meritorious conduct. I shall be glad to renew my acquaintance with him, and to show him every mark of my esteem and regard —I have, etc. etc. Cornwallis."

before settling in the autumn of 1810 at Spratton Place, in a village of that name near Northampton. His happiness, which may be said to have culminated there, was blasted in the most melancholy way by the death of my dear mother on the 17th December, from scarlet fever, caught in visiting the poor of the village. This event cast a gloom over the whole remainder of my father's life.

It was quite natural that in the following lonely years my father should by degrees be drawn, for the sake of exercise and intercourse, to associate with the fox-hunting community by which he was surrounded. The attractive qualities which had gained so much favour in India soon rendered him conspicuous, to say nothing of the fact that two of his horses were among the most noted clearers of five-barred gates. By 1813 he had before him the prospect of a sub-lieutenancy, but prudent forethought convinced him that a career of this kind was beyond what could be safely managed with a fortune which his premature departure from India had not allowed to attain to full growth, and in August of that year he left Spratton to resume quiet visits to attractive health resorts.

In front of Spratton Place there was a row of posts connected with chains. A short time before leaving, my father was sitting on one of these chains and conversing with a farmer of the neighbourhood, when suddenly the post to his right snapped near the bottom, and fell with violence against his hip-joint. The incident was thought little of, but had very serious results. Long walks on the Downs at Eastbourne brought on a lameness which confined him to his bed during the following winter, spent at Tunbridge Wells, and the summer of 1814, spent at Sydenham. It was not till 1815, whilst lodging at Brompton to be near the celebrated surgeon, Mr. Copeland, that he was enabled to resume exercise, and then only with the aid of crutches, which for many years were his inseparable companions. This infirmity did not prevent his availing himself of the definitive downfall of the Emperor Napoleon after the battle of Waterloo, for transferring his abode to those varied and interesting regions of the European Continent of which the enjoyment had so long been denied to Englishmen.

His companions were:—myself, born in 1806; my brother Henry, born in 1808; our sister Elizabeth, born 1809, our tutor and two maid servants.

A travelling landau was sent from London to Brighton, where we were staying in the autumn of 1815. It was one of those com-

plete vehicles that are now scarcely ever seen, and in its peregrinations, as far as Naples, did ample honour to the reputation enjoyed by British artisans for good workmanship.

It was about the beginning of November that we started with post-horses for Dover, whence the crossing of the Channel was effected in one of the small cutter-rigged vessels which then sufficed for the incipient efforts of Channel navigation. The weather was not such as to give any trouble nowadays, but it sufficed to throw the cutter on the Calais Sands, where it remained with the waves beating over it till it was left dry by the receding tide. My father was then placed in an arm-chair and hoisted over the vessel's side, and we reached without mishap the fine old hotel, "Dessin," noted through its mention in Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*.

A short stay at Brussels presented nothing worth mentioning, save an excursion to the battlefield of Waterloo, and the long stretch of posting to Paris was at that dismal season of the year rendered more cheerless by the presence of the Prussian troops playing the conquerors. The allied occupation gave even Paris during that winter an aspect of gloom which for us harmonised but too well with a family affliction; Sister Elizabeth died in January 1816, leaving a blank which had, wherever we went, the effect of diminishing our social intercourse.

The summer of 1816 was marked by excursions to Tours and Fontainebleau, but a much more important enterprise marked the autumn of that year, namely, a journey with post-horses all the way to Naples, a feat involving more than once the necessity for an escort of two Austrian dragoons, as protection against the banditti, who at that time were flourishing. I may mention in this respect that after staying three days on our return northward in a romantic part of the Apennines, our host very considerately warned us that the intelligence of the presence of English travellers was spreading in the neighbourhood, and that his house would probably be attacked if we remained there, which of course we gratefully avoided to do.

Having returned to Paris in 1817, we became comfortably located for some years at the Hôtel de Mayence, in a pleasant part of the Rue St. Honoré, and I thus had the opportunity of acquiring a taste for science, of which the chief branches were taught at the Athénée Royal by first-rate professors, in courses of a common-sense, utilitarian character still much wanted in England.

To this period of scientific training succeeded, from 1820-1822,

a period of classical education under regular English tutors at St. Germain-en-laye, where we had a country-house which had a large garden; to say nothing of the delightful rides in the Bois, for which that place is famous. These rides my father enjoyed the more for having received from England one of his best Northamptonshire hunters. He was still obliged to walk with crutches, but could ride freely, and his health was good. This circumstance and the absence of social intercourse naturally inclined him for his own sake, and that of his boys, to develop on a larger scale the knowledge of countries and nationalities. In April 1822 we began a journey to the banks of the Rhine, which formed a very suitable prelude to the picturesque beauties of the Lake of Lucerne. On 11th September we reached Milan, and had no difficulty in establishing ourselves in comfortable winter quarters.

Thus was initiated a plan, maintained by my father during the remainder of his continental life, of spending, as a rule, the summer in Switzerland and the winter at a first-rate city, such as Milan or Paris.

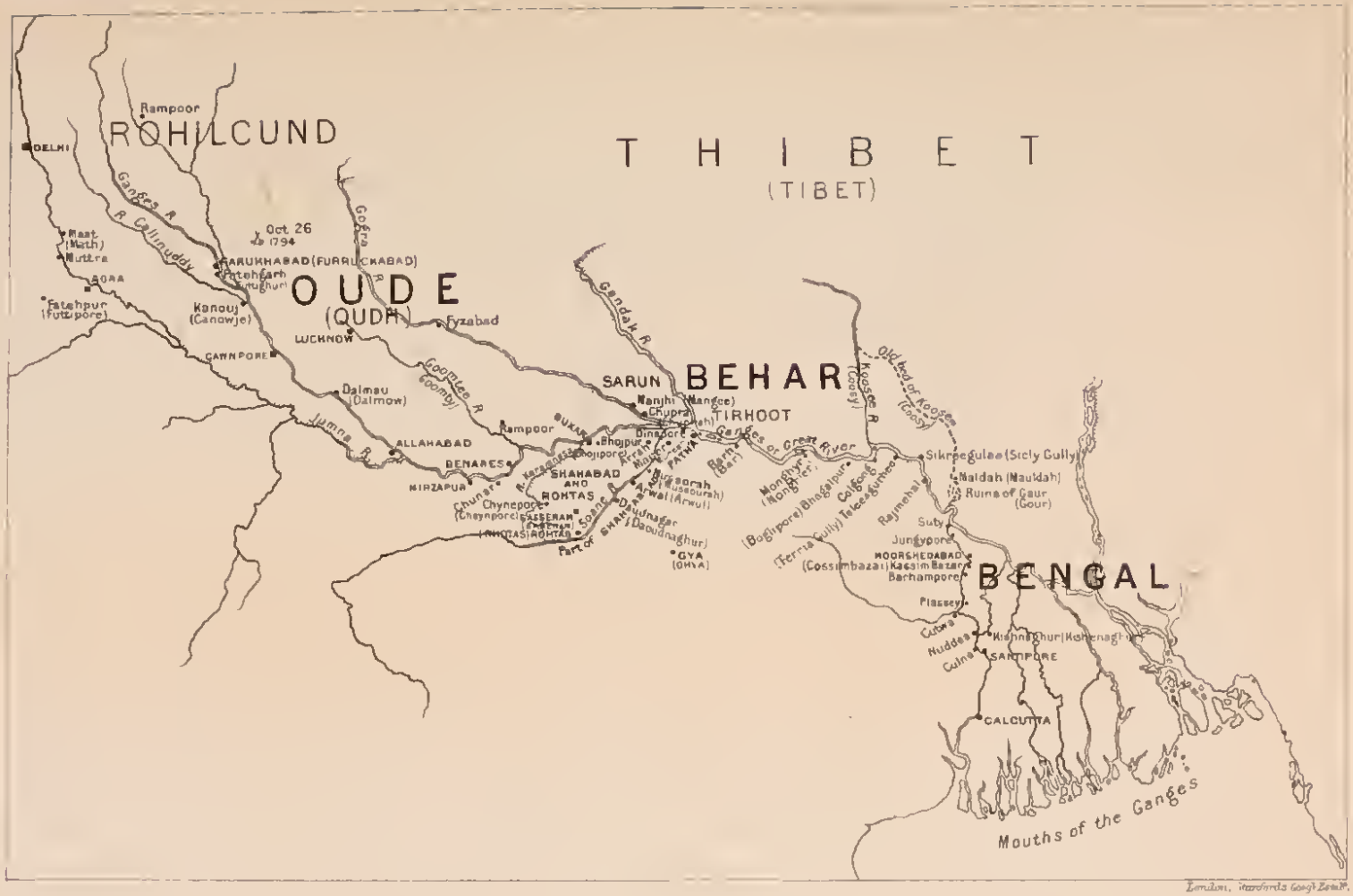
Milan found constant favour as a well-built, well-paved, and cleanly city. Its climate, owing to the propinquity of the Alps, is generally severe in winter, but for this very reason means of warmth and comfort abound, which Englishmen are apt to miss in the Italian cities farther south. Educational advantages and enjoyments were on a first-rate footing. I had good opportunities of cultivating my taste for music. My brother's talent for painting obtained important development through a course of lessons, received in our first winter's stay, from the eminent landscape painter, Marco Gozzi, and through copying, in subsequent years, the admirable collection of his works at the Brera, proceeds of a munificent yearly subvention from the Austrian Government.

In the numerous winters subsequently spent at Paris, our retired mode of life presented less varied attractions than might be supposed, and the distance from Interlaken, our summer abode, was a serious inconvenience.

Travelling was in those days a very different business from what steam has made it now. It required four awful days and nights of uninterrupted posting to travel from Paris to Interlaken and *vice versa*. Under such circumstances it is no wonder that our desire to lead a settled life in England went on increasing, and got the better of all other considerations in 1837.

A period of transition was afforded by our going in the spring of that year, *via* Havre and Southampton, to Weymouth, where we remained about a year. Our expectations of it as a seaside resort were fully justified, and to our other enjoyments was added a useful initiation in the movement, then in active development, of popular improvement through the instrumentality of so-called "Mechanics' Institutes." My father was induced to favour the Weymouth Mechanics' Institute with discourses on his Indian experiences, which created quite a sensation. It was in March 1838 that we sought for a definitive home in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. Twickenham united in an unparalleled degree intrinsic attractions with family associations. We took provisionally a house at the water-side, near the well-known Ferry, and by a most fortunate chance my father was very soon able to purchase from the descendants of Judge Perryn the mansion and grounds of Perryn House. He soon proved that he was the right man in the right place, by liberally contributing to the erection of Trinity Church, and having been appointed in 1841 one of H.M. Justices of the Peace, he devoted himself with such intelligent energy to the duties of his office that his "Justice Room" became appreciated far and wide by the police as an ever-ready and ever-satisfactory resource. He disposed of no less than 970 cases up to 1847, when advanced age induced him to resign amid tokens of the highest appreciation. He died on 25th December 1861.

H I R F I



THIBET
(TIBET)
ROHILCUND
OUDE
(QUDH)
BEHAR
BENGAL
Rampoor
DELHI
Ganges R
R Callinuddy
Oct 26
1794
FARUKHABAD (FURRUCKABAD)
Fatehgarh
Futtighur
Kanouj
(Canowje)
Fatehpur
(Futtipore)
CANNPORE
LUCKNOW
Fyzabad
Gogra R
Goomtee R
Goomby
Dalmau
(Dalmow)
Jumna R
ALLAHABAD
BENARES
MIRZAPUR
Chunar
Chynepore
(Cheynpore)
SASSERAM
(RHOTAS) ROHTAS
Rampoor
BUXAR
Bhojpur
(Bhojpore)
SHAHABAD
AND
ROHTAS
Soane R
Part of SHAHABAD
Daudnagar
(Daoudnaghur)
GYA
(GHYA)
Gandak R
SARUN
Manjhi
(Mangee)
Chupra
TIRHOOT
Dinapore
Arrah
Mauer
PATNA
Bursorah
(Mussourah)
Arwal (Arwul)
Ganges or Great River
Barh
(Bar)
Monghyr
(Monghier)
(Boglipore) Bhagalpur
Colgong
(Ferria Gully) Teleagurhee
Rajmehal
Sikreegulee (Sicly Gully)
Maldah (Mauldah)
Ruins of Gaur
(Gour)
Suty
Jungypore
MOORSHEDABAD
(Cossimbazar) Kassim Bazar
Barhampore
Plassey
Cutwa
Nuddea
Culna
Kishnaghur (Kishenaghur)
SANTIPORE
CALCUTTA
Old bed of Koosee
(Coosy)
Koosee R
(Coosy)
Mouths of the Ganges
London, Stanford's Geogl Estab.

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